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THE NEW DIVINE ORDER

The New Divine Order

BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Accepting all the challenges of contemporary philosophy, Karl Heim has driven German theology back on the fundamentals. The youth of Germany and, in particular, the generation of students who came through the war, and had in consequence been driven back already on these ultimate lines of defence, express their gratitude to him for having demonstrated that the fundamentals hold.

Compared with the high quality of his prose, this translation cannot be anything but pedestrian in style. For many points in which linguistic difficulties have been successfully overcome, the credit is due to Mr J. E. G. Burgoyne, Royal High School, Edinburgh, and my wife's suggestions are responsible for those passages in which the clarity of the original has been most conspicuously preserved.

E. P. DICKIE.

Lockerbie, *June* 1930.

FOREWORD

For some years Professor Karl Heim, of Tübingen, has been known as one of the most eminent and attractive teachers of Christian theology in Germany. Himself an old secretary of the German Student Christian Movement, he has come to exert a notable influence on younger academic minds, more especially those perplexed by what seem the rival claims of faith and reason.

Heim's thinking is never allowed to harden into fixed forms. He is perpetually moving on, probing sensitively the questions started by the most recent science and philosophy, yet keeping firmly his own direction. His apologetic method, though not his faith, he takes from philosophy as it deals with the problems of cognition. In the background of every great view of life, he contends, are certain primordial assumptions about the relations to each other of "me" and "thee" and the "objective" world. What then is the theory of knowledge that lies behind the faith of the New Testament? It is such as to offer the only way of escape from an all-devouring relativism in thought and ideal. Our minds, and the world itself, are subject to that "law of perspective"

which is simply a universalised form of Einstein's theory of relativity. To transcend this and encounter what is absolute, we have to come face to face with Christ. That a God of pure grace should touch us savingly in Jesus—this alone delivers us from being mere neutral spectators of the issues of life and death. In Him we meet our *fate*; for He only enables or rather compels us to choose, once and for ever, between chance and God.

Heim thereafter would guide us to interpret the whole of reality afresh in the light of this enigmatic fact, that Christians find their Saviour in an individual Figure of the historic past. To levelling reason it is an offence that He should confront us as One from whom we receive in religion what no one else can give. His point of view is absolute, but we can know this only from within the life of faith.

In the following pages three of Professor Heim's most characteristic and rewarding essays will be found. He writes a lucid and delicately vigorous German prose, and Mr Dickie has reproduced the clearness and strength of the original, I think, with great felicity.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

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INTRODUCTION

The following lectures and essays will appear to belong to very different spheres. It may therefore be appropriate to preface them by some introductory remarks on the aim and meaning of my endeavours in theology. Licentiate Heinz Erich Eisenhuth has just published an exhaustive and penetrating analysis of the conclusions I have reached on the certainty of faith, at the end of which he sums up the characteristic features of my work in theology in these sentences: "Heim has treated philosophy and religion as one subject of study. But the essence of Christianity is identified with the essence of religion" (*The Development of the Problem of the Certainty of Faith according to Karl Heim*, by Lic. H. E. Eisenhuth, published by Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1928). Here, indeed, he has touched on the point at which I hold it is necessary to pass beyond the conventional work in theology and philosophy, and from which alone the proper aim of these lectures and essays can be understood.

The history of intellectual achievement has

to-day arrived at a point where it is once more universally discovered that the whole of the division into departments such as philosophy, history, science, is only an artificial separation of things that belong fundamentally together. The leaves of the water-lily lie in separation on the surface of the water; but in the depths of the lake their stalks run together in one single root. So important has specialisation become, and so vast is the material of knowledge brought to light by the assiduity of one century in all departments, that we are conscious of the need to interrupt it for a moment in order to stand still a little and strike the balance. We are like men who stand in front of the façade of Milan cathedral, who have now for the first time studied, in ardent endeavour, the lines and forms of this bewildering profusion of pillars, and statues, and ornaments. Now they need to go back from it, to stand at a distance and, from the precincts of the cathedral, allow the whole to work on them, in order to acquire an inward sense of proportion towards it. It is a significant sign of the intellectual situation to-day that only those intellectual movements make any impression on the educated world which carry with them the universal claim to explain the whole of life. Pre-eminent among these are Roman Catholicism, that powerful system of the pre-" democratic " civilisation of the Middle Ages, which comprehends the whole of thought and life and is brought to bear on all political questions ;

and Anthroposophy, which tries, in the same way, with one principle to embrace and transform the whole of knowledge and life from Physics and Medicine to the structure of the social organism.

This newly-awakened consciousness of the unity from which all the departments of knowledge and life grow out like branches from one root, has done more than anything else to change fundamentally the position of religion in the spiritual life of mankind. Tillich says in his *Philosophy of Religion*: "The decisive result of the ontology of religion is the discernment that religion is not one function alongside others, but that turning of the spirit to the Absolute which carries all functions with it." With this bold sentence, as with a stroke of the pen, are broken down those boundary-fences which Schleiermacher had erected between religion and the other departments of life. Doubt is thrown on the assumption on which the Protestant dogmatic of the nineteenth century was built—that religion is not a knowing or a doing, but that it has a peculiar province in the soul, which is like a peaceful garden fenced round by a high hedge and protected from the noise of the world. In a word there is no longer any special religious function that might be set alongside the other functions of life, as eating stands alongside drinking and sleeping. The question of the meaning of life (*i.e.* the inquiry into the idea of God) is rather a relationship into which enters every faculty that we exercise. We

may perhaps illustrate it most simply for ourselves in the relationship taken up by the movement of a body in space to the three dimensions of a system of co-ordinates. The curve described by a stone thrown in space is fully determined only when we know the distances of it in every stage of its flight from three walls that are perpendicular to one another. We can, if we care, disregard the third dimension, and consider only the outline described by the body if its flight is projected on one surface alone. But with this two-dimensional plan the movement of the body is not completely determined. So the idea of God is one dimension in which every movement must necessarily take place, in whatever department of life we perform it. We may disregard any reference to meaning in an action and content ourselves with a surface interpretation of it. But then we have not described the action completely. We are living in an abstraction. We cannot execute any real movement without thereby—consciously or unconsciously—denying God, and therefore in this hour of our life withdrawing ourselves in demoniacal fashion from His claim ; or acknowledging God, and so doing this hour's deed for Him ; or hesitating between denial and acknowledgment, so that the action of this hour is undermined by the instability of the foundation on which our whole life is built up.

That the idea of God is a dimension in which is involved every thought we think and every

movement we execute ; an inevitable and primary relation which we can disregard only by an artificial abstraction—this fact is now, in the years succeeding the war, for the first time being gradually recognised. Why could it not have emerged earlier ? Because, until thirty years ago, the monistic view of the world, held by the older science, still completely dominated the intellectual life of educated people. Hence the idea emerged that only the materialistic-mechanistic view of the world could be the objective, tangible, scientifically-confirmed reality. Everything that could not be brought within its scope must belong to the sphere of the subjective inner world. The alternatives were to reject it as pure fantasy, or to lock it up in the innermost sanctuary of the soul, since it could not live in the cold atmosphere of science.

Theology of the period following 1870–1871 was also so strongly influenced by this invulnerable citadel of the self-contained monistic view of the universe, that no thought ever came to it of making a breach in the walls or laying a bomb under the whole concern. It was enough for it if it succeeded in finding somewhere within this citadel a small chamber where it could build a chapel. Take, for example, the *Dogmatics* of Wilhelm Herrmann in Marburg, published since his death. In the opening paragraphs he speaks of " the secret nature of religion." Science, he says, can command for itself unlimited validity. It

can be proved to the satisfaction of everyone that there is a certain, progressive knowledge belonging to science. Religion is not an essential function of humanity as is Knowledge or Will. Religion is not something objectively real, of such a kind that everyone must see it. It appears only in individual men, as an intellectual possession, as something extraordinary. There are many people who not only can declare that religion is a foreign land to them, but who suspect also that the evidence given by others on this point rests on self-deception. It is therefore something individual. " He who can see and understand religion as something real, knows that he has been conducted by that conviction through these experiences by which he himself tastes of religion." Already this hazard taken by *Dogmatics* is a renunciation of the offensive ; a renunciation of the great claim with which the Apostles once appeared before the world. They did not contend for a modest space in which to practise their religious exercises. They were not vindicating their right to certain religious experiences. No ; they came as the aggressors. They were conscious that they brought that without which the world must collapse upon itself ; that which called in question the whole world of previous culture, with all its forms of state and social organisation.

If such a hazard is taken with the Christian message as was taken by Herrmann, then the worldly man, the complacent man of culture,

does not feel himself attacked, nor even disturbed. From the outset he is granted everything that he wishes to have. The tangible world of the causal mechanism, in which he lives, for which alone he has organised himself, is the one certain thing, and the one thing scientifically established. The consciousness of God, so he says, is a living question only with certain people, who have particular experiences that not everyone can have. Herrmann praises Kant for carefully separating religion from knowledge of the world; for releasing religion "from the dangerous union with knowledge of demonstrable reality." The advantage of this is, of course, that the religious man is not disturbed by the advance of science. But, naturally, the other practical result of this hermetic seclusion is that no physicist, nor chemist, nor biologist will ever again be disturbed by religion. He can work away in his room, untroubled by the idea of God, in the consciousness that he is in quest of that which alone can be truly established as certain.

The shrewdest development of this defensive attitude is given by Rudolph Otto in his book, *The Idea of the Holy*. The numinous feelings and the sacred fears lead back "to a hidden, permanent source of imaginative and emotional representations which lie in the soul itself, independent of the experiences of the mind; . . . which, on the score of the superabundance of their content, are to be distinguished from Kant's

pure theoretic and pure practical reason, as something higher and deeper." This *a priori* emotional basis is put in the same category with artistic aptitude, such as the gift for music. Music is understood only by musical people. To receive this impression a special capacity is necessary. There follows the consequence that, just as a man can live without music, so he could live also without worrying himself about the question of eternity. If we find a man, who can read the sixth chapter of Isaiah and experience no feeling of solemnity, we may be sorry for him, because he is deprived of a whole sense. He has no musical ear in the department of religion. But if I regard such a man with pity, he lives on, nevertheless, quite happily. He finds himself exceedingly well adapted to the world which lies within his horizon. His intellectual house has, it is true, one room less. That can be endured. From that he sees no inconvenient consequences arising on this side.

The characteristic feature in these representations of the religious view of the world is not to be found in the description of that which is contained in the actual belief in God. (In this respect the younger generation has made practically no advance on its predecessor.) Rather is it the relation in which the question of eternity stands to all other departments of thought and life. It is the relation of adjacent compartments, which are not subject to confusion one with another

because they are partitioned off by walls. This conception of the way in which religion is related to the other departments of life does not owe its alteration to the fact that evangelical theology and the evangelical church have once more become conscious of their intellectual task. The impulse came from the other side. The world-view peculiar to the irreligious attitude appeared, up to a short time ago, as a universe shut up within itself, in which it was possible to live, and even to adapt oneself very comfortably. To-day it is undergoing a violent convulsion. All its foundations are trembling. It is like a volcanic island. Everywhere fissures are appearing. Through these you catch a glimpse of the seething waters of the ocean, which threatens to swallow up everything, menacing the existence of the whole island. It would be possible to illustrate this from every department of science. Here I shall mention only one place in which the convulsion is everywhere apparent. The security of the older medical science rested on the fact that there was a radical difference between certain nervous disturbances, which could be cured by spiritual influence (suggestion and hypnosis), and organic diseases, which could be affected only by operative treatment or by drugs. By the aid of this distinction, medical science protected itself from the uneasiness which was perpetually making itself felt from cases of supernatural healing, and from the whole sphere of the occult. For medical

science, the " miracles of healing " were hysterical cases (which can be cured to-day by the same methods in any hospital) or they were relegated to the sphere of legends. To-day this whole distinction is called in question—the distinction which was once made between the physical world and physically conditioned symptoms on the one side, and spiritual life and the whole sphere of sicknesses of the soul on the other side. Once the wall is broken down which separates the room where medical science works from the room of the spiritual sciences, once even the possibility emerges that all physical processes can be induced and influenced from the side of the spirit, medical science stands, every moment of its work of healing, before the question, What is the soul ? What is the invisible centre of human life on which, in the end, everything depends ? But when the question of the soul is propounded, at once the question of God is also propounded. For it is of the nature of the soul that it either rests in God, or flies unresting before God, or sways in scepticism hither and thither between affirming and denying the existence of God.

In this way the present-day state of medical science brings to our notice the new situation in which we are now involved in every department. The wall which had separated life from the consciousness of God, is thrown down. There has sprung into life the conviction that religion is not a particular sphere alongside other spheres, a

spiritual function alongside other functions, a room beside other rooms, but the final and most important dimension, in which is involved everything that we think, everything that we study, everything that we do.

The lectures and essays which are gathered here have arisen out of this new intellectual situation. They proceed from the assumption that we cannot speak of the nature of Time ("Time and Eternity"), nor of the relation between spirit and body ("Supernatural Healing"), nor of any other question, without being led from every side to the idea of God, as to the final question by which everything is determined. Nor can we solve the question of God in our own strength. We cannot lay hold of the reality of God either by individual study, or by logical reasoning, or by exertion of the will. God must reveal Himself to us, if we are to find Him at all. We are dependent on that occurrence taking place in us which is recounted in St Matthew's Gospel of the two blind men who came to Christ. We read: "Then touched He their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it unto you. And their eyes were opened." Only if God Himself touches us with His divine healing-power do our eyes open on all spheres of life. We acquire the "central view" of which Jacob Böhme spoke, which includes all spheres, and reveals to us the ultimate meaning of all that we think and do.

SUPERNATURAL HEALING

The recently published *Nature and God*, by the theologian Arthur Titius, is a suggestive sign of the times. Its grasp of the subject is universally acknowledged even by experts in Natural Science. On the one hand it demonstrates that we are coming back once more from our one-sided preoccupation with History to deal with the problems of Nature. On the other hand it makes us aware of the radical change which is taking place in the whole of our present-day interpretation of Nature. The "Victorian age" ("Das 'bürgerliche Zeitalter'") from which we are descended, lived in a Platonic dualism of Spiritand Nature. From this arose on the one side the idealist's isolation of Spirit, on the other side the atomistic interpretation of Nature, the mechanistic explanation of events.

"Nothing," says Titius, "does more injury to the development of a religious sense than a materialistic age. Characteristic of such an age is the belief in a palpable material world, and the appeal to the evidence of the senses. Thus the rude mass-instincts towards a selfish enjoyment of life win for Unreason a quasi-scientific vindication." Kant's separation of the non-objectifiable

Ego, with its ethical law and its postulate of God, from the objective world of experience has, it is true, rendered splendid services to the movement of thought in Germany during the materialistic age. This separation created a protective wall behind which the intellectual values of German civilisation could be secured and so preserved through the storms of materialism. The billions of years of world evolution and the countless numbers of solar systems left the eternal worth of spiritual values quite unaffected. These lay in the sphere of the supra-temporal and supra-spatial, which was the pre-condition of the whole world of experience. They were protected, as by a breakwater, against attack by the ocean waves of the temporal world.

We acknowledge the value of Kant's dualism for our intellectual advancement, but, at the same time, we regard it to-day as a construction, which lays restraint on the stream of life; as the stroke of a sword, which cuts the knot of the world's enigma, instead of unravelling it. The significance of this book of Titius is that in it the author has set free the relation between Spirit and Nature from the paralysis into which it was brought by the Kantian system. By refuting the teleological and cosmological arguments for the being of God, Kant had covered up the ways that lead upwards from Nature to Spirit and to God. Now they are being opened up again. Goethe and Schelling, who, with their genius

for synthesis, had already in Kant's own age refused to admit this cleavage between the two halves of our existence, and had sought for a unity, are rising again from their obscurity. That is becoming possible on the strength of the new developments in the atomic theory of to-day. " The mechanistic theory is breaking down already on the atom." Each atom has become a solar system. A pioneer of the new mode of viewing things speaks of a " veritable music of the spheres among the atoms " ; of a " concord of integral relations, an increasing order and harmony in every manifold." Matter has dissolved into mystery. Whereas it was once tangible and certain, intelligible to everyone, it has become vastly complex and enigmatical. Every molecule, every atom contained within it, forms a unity, and exists in space in an isolation of its own. Even the atom itself is dissolved into a group of electrons floating freely in space around a nucleus. The nucleus itself has a positive electric charge, but, beyond this, we know practically nothing of its nature. In this way a new conception of Causality is opened up. In place of the mechanistic idea of Causality we have that which is referred to as " aggregate Causality," of which the laws apply to the atom as well as to organic bodies. Modifications of the parts are determined by the aim of the whole, namely, self-preservation and the harmony of its structure. Thus there has come into sight again the point of unity between

Will and Matter, which we had lost since Schelling. "In proportion as it (*i.e.* aggregate Causality) is progressively revived, we shall find that the scientific investigation of Nature will again be brought into greater harmony with the religious view of Nature. Neither view will forfeit its proper significance, but they will regain that concord which existed between them in the epoch from which we have just emerged." In dealing with these new data, incompatible as they are with the old dualism, Titius exercises a cautious restraint in pressing them only so far as they are provisionally confirmed by the results of contemporary investigations in science. Where this firm ground fails, as, for example, in the question of life after death, he withdraws again to the Kantian dualism as to an invincible citadel. This caution in refusing to advance farther than his warrant will carry him gives to his book a special value in the eyes of all who fight shy of the purely speculative. On the other hand this same caution is the author's limitation. For great discoveries have always been made because someone pushed his thoughts to their conclusion, regardless of whether that conclusion might be so revolutionary as to upset all previous assumptions.

The fresh interest in the secret of Nature which Titius has provoked by his book, directs our thoughts in particular to a question which, through an accumulation of facts, has become more and more insistent in recent times, namely,

the question of miracles. Innumerable experiences in the sphere of Medicine and of "faith cures" have made one fact increasingly apparent. It appears that not only nervous but also organic changes in the human constitution are brought about, quite apart from external treatment (drugs, baths, operations, and the like), through spiritual means, by the immediate influence of will-power. I mention only the most important phenomena which have recently come to light. Strongly contrasted though they are, they can be brought under one principle. First, there are the cures which Christian Science has brought about by concentrating on the thought that no evil exists, and therefore no illness. Second, there are the prayer cures which took place in Möttlingen, in Männedorf, in Teichwolframsdorf, and in many other districts. Third, there are the cures resulting from the " method of hypnotic auto-suggestion " which Dr Oskar Kohnstamm (whose early death was caused by the strain of his hospital work) describes in his book, *Medical and Philosophical Conclusions from the Method of Hypnotic Auto-Suggestion.* Fourth, there are the influences exerted on organic pains through the subconscious, according to the method of Coué, as scientifically expounded by Charles Baudouin in his *Psychology of Suggestion and Auto-Suggestion*, 1926.

There are features common to all these facts, notwithstanding the variety of subject involved as patient and the marked contrast in the nature

of the cases. What is the common denominator? Something negative and something positive. On the negative side is this fact, that the cure is effected in each case without the employment of those external means which require no co-operation from the healer, no hazarding of his own personality, but leave him, as it were, in the position of spectator. On the positive side is the fact that an unseen force is operating. The effects of this force can be ascertained with some precision, but the force itself cannot be made objective. In one way only can we appropriate this force, namely, through the certainty, acquired in a fashion which is in the first instance inexplicable, that this invisible force is there, whether it is that this certainty rests on faith in God or is achieved by deliberation and the discipline of concentrated thought. As soon as the certainty of its presence is there, this invisible force begins to work. But so long as it is not yet there, it is quite impossible to obtain the results. Consequently there is always necessary a strong, personal co-operation; an inward hazarding of the whole "ego." Even the doctor, who deals with a patient by hypnotism, plays, in so doing, quite a different rôle from that in which he prescribes drugs or uses violet-ray treatment. He must be personally convinced of the existence of the invisible force. It may be that this certainty is required, *e.g.* in cases of healing by Christian Science, for example, only on the side of the person healed. In other cases, as in hypnotic

treatment by a doctor, the confidence passes over from the doctor to the patient.

A classic formulation of the principle under which all these various methods of healing can be brought is found in Mark xi. 23, where Jesus says : " Verily I say unto you, That whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea ; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass ; he shall have whatsoever he saith." If we take these words out of the context in which they stand alongside Jesus' faith in God, they contain a formula for the facts which are common to all these peculiar occurrences which we encounter to-day in very different spheres. There is to be found in them a surprising similarity of form.

This formal correspondence between miracles of prayer, the cures of Christian Science, and hypnotic influences exercised by doctors, led to a perplexing situation so long as the conventional interpretation of Nature held the field. These matters were approached by propounding the question : " Has God acted in this instance, or does the causal connection operative in the world remain intact ? " If God has acted, then the order of Nature must have been interrupted. If, on the other hand, the matter can be " naturally explained," then it has nothing to do with God. Thus it has been said from the Christian side : " Should it be proved that a man like Coué makes

it possible by auto-suggestion for the lame to walk, then the whole Biblical belief in miracles breaks down." Then men like Blumhardt were hypnotisers. They are unmasked. Their cures are "naturally" explained. Conversely, it is asserted from the non-Christian side with reference to the same question: "The so-called miracles of which the Christians speak are either frauds, or they are only another form of that which is happening every day in the hospital in the treatment of certain illnesses by hypnotism."

We see already that the facts before which we stand to-day compel us to consider afresh the whole relation of Nature and Spirit. Instead of fighting against one another with catchwords we must first take our stand on common ground, and reflect on what it is that these newly-discovered facts have to tell us. Do they not cast some doubt on the whole picture which we have hitherto drawn of Nature? May it not be that the whole assumption is false under which we have hitherto imagined the relation between God and the causal order? Suppose there is only one single case in which a chemical process, as for example the coagulation of the blood in a wound caused by a tooth extraction, the formation of a clot of blood in the cavity left by the tooth (cf. Coué: *Self-Mastery by means of Conscious Auto-Suggestion*, p. 44 ff.) is brought about not by chemical means but through "the imaginative faculty" or will-power. Then there vanishes the

whole distinction by the help of which we have hitherto opposed certain final consequences, namely, the distinction between a limited sphere of nervous disorders, which are amenable to hypnotism and suggestion, and the chemical-physical processes accessible only by chemical-physical methods—that is, by medicines, radiations, and the like. For the important point is not whether it has now been made possible to treat all organic illnesses actually from within. This is possible, clearly, only in certain cases. The disciples of Coué admit at once that certain diseases, for example epilepsy, have so far defied all spiritual treatment. The decisive point is simply that we have crossed the barrier which was hitherto regarded as impassable. It is proved to be a fundamental principle that there is nothing in itself that may not be amenable to spiritual treatment. The obstacles before which we are here standing may still, in many spheres, be too strong for us to win the victory over them with our weak force. But fundamentally we are standing before limitless possibilities. Once there was a wall between will-power and the dead mass of the elements of Nature. The very existence of this partition had a detrimental effect on our whole work. Now that barrier is down. A new life-sense streams through us, a new joy of victory is awakened. As soon as it is recognised that fundamentally all organic processes can be influenced also from within, we are compelled to

revise our thoughts of the whole relation between Consciousness and Matter, between Will and Nature. We must ask, How is it possible that a material element, like the corpuscles in the formation of a clot of blood or the connective tissues in the pseudo-pregnancy described by Kohnstamm, can be affected respectively by the subconscious mind, or the will, as if by a magic wand? How can we explain the process which is described by Coué: "Under the influence of the thought, 'The bleeding shall stop!' the unconscious mind gives to the terminal branches of the veins and arteries the command to allow no more blood to flow"? How is it that the organs compress themselves at this word of command, as they would on being touched by an artificial styptic, as for instance by the use of adrenalin? Here we appear to have overleaped the intervening stages which were considered necessary by our former idea of Nature for the accomplishment of such a change of material elements.

In order to understand this we must for a moment consider, from first principles, the relation between Spirit and the course of Nature. There are intuitions and presentiments which, at a certain time, are "in the air." This we recognise from the fact that they emerge simultaneously and independently in very different types of mind, now in popular form, now in poetic or scientific form. Such an intuition, more or less clearly defined, is prevalent in our

own time. It is the notion that all the riddles of Nature are bound up in the problem of Time; that we could solve all metaphysical questions if we knew the nature of Time, this ground-form in which every occurrence takes place. The phenomenological school of to-day, with all the concentration of its "inspection of reality," is deeply engaged with the riddle of the stream of time. Quite independently of this, and much earlier, Bergson, in his book *Time and Freewill*, attempted to solve the problem of the freedom of the will—that is, the problem which is most intimately connected with our own—from a new understanding of the duration of time. Oswald Spengler, also, has followed him in this, without being dependent on him.

The first thing that strikes us as the unique characteristic of the experience of Time is the irrevocability of the time-direction. I can draw a line in space as often as I wish, either forwards or backwards. The peculiarity of Time, which excludes every spatial illustration, is this, that each moment is only once present, then it is over, never to return again, and never to be recalled. A little while ago, anything was possible. Now the dice are fallen, the books are closed. The past stands eternally motionless. Clearly we find the essence of Time, the impetus and flow of the stream of Time, in the passage during this present moment from a state which is arbitrary to one which is determined. Every occurrence

which crosses the present moment passes over from a fluid aggregate state, in which there are possibilities still unlimited, to a solid aggregate state, in which one possibility has once and for all become a reality. Let us deal with the course of Time from this threshold point. We have a picture of the flow of Time fundamentally different from the conventional picture which we have made of it. The conventional interpretation mistook the course of Time for a spatial line. We imagined Time as a fixed line, divided into days, years, and centuries. The present moment was then a point, which moved forwards along this line, putting one hour after another behind it, as a pedestrian on a roadway leaves behind him one milestone after another. If we leave this misleading spatial metaphor entirely on one side and, free of all prejudice, concentrate our attention on the unique characteristic of the stream of Time, then we have quite a different picture. We have two states, which run without interruption through world-history, the state of the present, in which everything is as yet indeterminate and arbitrary, and the state of the past, in which everything has become unchangeable. The present moment is not a moving point, but one of the two states through which every occurrence must pass. History is a flowing stream, which, as soon as it has passed a certain place, is suddenly frozen. This place is the threshold point between present and past, the

point at which the indeterminate state of history passes over into the determined state.

Here we take up a new position for solving the problem of the relation between Will and the course of Nature. As we have seen, two representations of history emerge from the present moment, and stand face to face with each other. Let us call them representation A and representation B. A is the representation of history while the event is immediately present, while I stand within it, while everything is still in chaotic flux around me. In hours that are pregnant with fate, full of breathless tension—let us think of the hours preceding the outbreak of war—we have almost a physical experience of this molten stream of the present state of history. Reality has become for us a living whole, intangible, mysterious, fluctuating. Something awesome is in the air. Prophets appear like stormy petrels flying ahead of the gathering tempest. They speak in mysterious pictures, visions and symbols, of that which cannot be immediately expressed. Alongside this stands representation B, in which an event precipitates itself, as soon as the tension is over and the records which concern it are closed. We have reached a historical distance, however small, from the occurrence. It has become objective. As soon as it has become objective, we can proceed to measure it, to weigh it, to analyse it. A physical energy can be measured only by the resistance which it has overcome. The momentum

of a missile can be ascertained only when it has been projected. Before that I can calculate its effect ; I can wait, hope, fear for the verification of my calculations ; but every calculation before the event, even the astronomical calculation of solar and lunar eclipses, is bound up with the proviso—the effect will coincide if (1) the reckoning of the relations of energy, from which the calculation set out, is correct, and if (2) the circumstances remain constant ; if, that is, we can count on the elimination of every interfering force from the unknown depths of the world of space which might affect the process, and for which we were not prepared. In the past thousands of predictions have been fulfilled to the second. In a thousand cases no disturbing influence has intervened. But, as Hume has shown in his *Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding*, that is not the slightest ground for believing that on the thousand-and-first time no disturbance will appear. We expect none. Indeed we take it for granted that there will be none. But in this we rest entirely on the strength of custom. Anyone, who has had even a single experience of an earthquake, knows that, because a town has stood for a thousand years, there is no reason to believe that it cannot be thrown down in ruins by an earthquake before another hour has passed. There is not even the ground for believing it likely that this will not be the case. Because the sun has risen a thousand times according to the calendar is no reason for

supposing that it will rise again to-morrow morning. We expect it to do so only because of the strength of custom. Hence in the present moment not only the occurrences which are still in process of becoming are brought into question, but also the continuance of all past states. We must first decide whether everything which has hitherto been lasting may not be thrown into chaos! But, when once an occurrence is past, then it is not only possible to measure and to weigh it, but it is necessary to measure it, to weigh it, and to insert it in its causal connection. All accomplished facts, not only chemical-physical occurrences, but also the most intimate spiritual processes, even acts of will, are necessarily made subject to causal inquiry, as soon as they are accomplished. There is nothing, once it is past, which escapes this liability to analytical measurement. When persons were observed with mediumistic gifts, in whose vicinity jars and other objects floated through the air, then, as soon as these processes had become actual fact and could be made the subject of inquiry, they were brought under a scientific formula. They were traced back to a new energy, hitherto unknown, and named "telekinetic," and inquiry was made into its strength and the conditions governing its release. From this strange instance we learn something. It belongs to the nature of the causal method, which we apply to every occurrence that is accomplished and can therefore be measured,

that we interpret this occurrence as the effect of an energy which, though latent, was always actual, and that we determine the conditions under which this energy can be released. Even if there were to take place before our eyes a resurrection from the dead, we should be compelled to inquire into the occurrence by the same method.

We have first made clear in principle the two states through which all history passes, representation B, in which every event is entered, as it were, on a vast map as the measurable result of a latent cause, retaining there its permanent place; and representation A, the impression of the world which I receive in the present moment, from which the stream of occurrences issues like a river from its source in a lake. But the deepest contrast between these two representations lies in the relation in which we find ourselves as beings endowed with will. Towards the picture of the indeterminate present we have a very different attitude from that which we adopt towards the determined past. Let us make this clear by an example. Let us suppose that someone, in the course of a tiger-hunt, is levelling a gun at an animal. He is aware that he is lost if the weapon misfires or the shot is not immediately fatal. In such moments we feel the hazard involved in resting his own life and the lives of others on the continuity of the order of Nature which has previously held. In this case the hazard consists in trusting the laws that control the discharge of

the weapon. It is as if a man should venture on ice without knowing whether it will really bear his weight. It might be protested perhaps that in such cases we are reckoning simply with blind chance. I gamble with my life as the player at Monte Carlo who throws his last coin on the roulette table. But even this example of the gambler shows that we are not phenomenologically accurate in our observation when we assume that in the case of a game of chance we have to reckon simply with blind fate. The process appears in this light if we regard it from the standpoint of the spectator, that is, in the way in which we look at an accomplished fact. The matter is quite different so long as I stand myself in the midst of the event ; so long as I am myself firing the weapon, or throwing the coin on the table, aware that, if it fails, I am lost. In this case I am not calculating as a spectator—calculation referred always to the past alone—but the matter can be put only thus : I rely on the weapon not failing me in the next, fateful moment. I rely on the chemical-physical process of ignition and discharge not leaving me in the lurch. I trust it to pursue the same course in the future which it has followed in previous cases. I rely on my gun remaining faithful to me when I entrust my life to it.

Involuntarily, I have been treating the substances and the forces, which operate here in a certain way according to laws, no longer as in-

animate, rigid masses, but as something living, as something—I wish to express myself as carefully as possible—that has in it a certain analogy to my will. Involuntarily I am led to "personify" Nature, as soon as I invade its domains and become dependent on it for my whole existence, as is the case in a moment of dangerous crisis. Immediately afterwards, when the tension is over, when the event can be put with "facts accomplished," and becomes the object of reflection, I probably regard this "personification of Nature" as a lapse into the nature-myths of primitive men or as superstition. The event will be measured and set into an analytical calculation. It takes its place in the vast map of objective data. But if this new interpretation of Time is right, from which we wish to proceed, then, perhaps, I have no reason to be ashamed of this "personification of Nature." For then this peculiar internal view of history which is forced on me in the moment of crisis, and may be characterised by the word "personification" as only figurative, and, as it were, visionary, is quite on a par with the second representation, the external view of occurrences which presents itself when the crisis is over. For the understanding of reality I learn from this first primary impression just as well as I learn from the second. Indeed it will be necessary to say that I learn even more. That internal view is the first, immediate impression of reality; the view of the event when it is past is something

secondary and mediate. That which fluctuates around me immediately in the moment of crisis; which is given to me in a fashion not yet objective; will afterwards be applied to the stationary surface of the objective world. We must therefore treat the matter with all seriousness if, in the moment when we look upon ourselves as existing independent of reality, the impression is made on us that the whole event by which we are borne along is an actual contest of powers which bear a certain resemblance to our own will, to which we trust ourselves as we can trust ourselves to the strength of some person, or with which we contend as we contend with living forces. It is only in the second stage that the result of this struggle precipitates itself in the world-view as causally presented by science.

We are now approaching a perspective which has been advocated with remarkable unanimity by our deepest intellects, in spite of all the variety in their formulation of it. Fichte, Schelling and Schopenhauer agree in saying: The world, in its inmost nature, that is to say, in its primary, indeterminate condition, is Will, and only afterwards, when it objectifies itself, does it become the visible and tangible world of substance, as we behold it. Will, therefore, is not only a faculty of the human spirit, bound up with the human body. Will is our individual share in the invisible force which is the core of Nature and from moment to moment moves the world. What

Will is we can comprehend only when we cease to trace world-history, as is usually done, on a superficies. History is a living transition, a change between two contrasted states, a continuous process of transformation in which everything that exists, including ourselves, takes part.

To represent reality, it is not sufficient to have the stationary photograph. We must pass over to the view of the cinematograph. Only so do we comprehend living reality. All mistakes in the previous picture of the world arose from the desire to project moving history on a stationary surface. Serious, scientific consideration we give only to the representation B—the crystallised view of the past, in which is portrayed everything that is subject to the causal nexus and the control of law. The molten state, which precedes this crystallisation, the tension of the indeterminate moment, in which we are continually living, was a disturbing element in this stationary picture. Either it was placed offhand on one side by a deterministic interpretation of the Will ; or, when that would not succeed, it was accepted as a unique faculty of the human soul, that is found nowhere else in Nature. It was confined to human organisms. The rest of Nature was unaffected by it, and remained, after its passing as before its coming, a rigid mechanism.

If we dissociate ourselves from this violence done to Nature ; if we set out from a living representation of Nature, which reckons with two

states that continually pass into each other, then in every creative moment there are two possibilities. The new creation of the whole material form of the world, which results every moment, can be accomplished in twofold fashion. The first possibility is that the future is the simple continuation of the past. I study the laws of that part of history, which lies before me already accomplished, together with the tendencies which have revealed themselves in it, and allow myself to be drawn on by them as the sailor who uses the force of the wind and sets his sail accordingly, or the miller who uses the fall of water and leads it to his mill-wheel. This happens in the attitude of the spectator, who makes no inward hazard, and is drawn on only by a peculiar confidence in the consistency of events. This first possibility is always the readiest to hand. This we see clearly from the fact that the whole story which has been unfolded up to now has entered on the present moment in a non-objective fashion. The evolution of the world is never begun afresh in this moment. The ego is in every moment embedded in " subconscious complexes," that is, it is carried by the past. On the basis of this principle the building is continued, in most cases in the same style of architecture. In almost everything that we do in the course of the day, there comes practically no consciousness of the decisive character of the moment. We do not live : we are lived. We do not act but only exhibit reflex

movements, drilled movements which produce their effects automatically. Consequently, when we predict how someone, whose character we know, will act in a certain situation, our expectations are usually realised.

But this rectilinear continuation of past history, the whole, technical, influence which we exert in the world, which is the employment and continuation of previous tendencies, is only one of the two possibilities which are presented to us, when we are sharing in the re-creation of the form of the world. There is still a second possibility. It presents itself less frequently, but nevertheless it is much more important than the first. I set myself in opposition, with my will at stake, to the stream of previous history. I am conscious that my will is a part of the force which, from moment to moment, is the source and spring of the whole of objective reality. We are brought to a creative act, a direct moulding of Matter. The inward attitude is entirely different from that involved in the technical recasting of Nature. In this case I am not playing the part of a cool spectator. My personality is at stake. It is all engaged in the transaction. This is the willing, believing, praying attitude.

Thus, for the first time, we have made it possible to bring under one general denominator all the facts which are brought to our notice in the most varied departments. They are simply attempts to strike out on this second, immediate

way of influencing the world; this way which is open to us because we have a share in the power of Will which lies behind the events of Nature.

It is only when we have come to understand the common factor in all these attempts, that we can comprehend the strong contrast which is opened up within. Now two possibilities are presented. Either this creative will-power, which lies behind the totality of events, is a chaotic tumult of conative forces which are pulling against one another in every direction, the meaningless life-impulse of many natures, of which Schopenhauer speaks. There is then no meaning in this universe. Or—there is God. That is, there is one omnipresent will, before which we all stand, a will whose claim we hear when our hearts are opened to it, which commands us to go in a certain direction. Over against it there stands the power of a defeated adversary, from the influence of which, however, we are not yet delivered. If this is the case, a new situation has arisen. Our capacity for taking part in the creative efficacy of Nature is then on precisely the same footing as all other capacities in which we share—for example, the capacity for speaking, for apprehending the thoughts of another, for influencing the intellect of another, and so forth. With this highest capacity which is ours, three possibilities are also present. First, we may employ this capacity while we are still unaware of the responsibility and the final contradiction.

Second, we may exercise that will-power from the side of the will of God. Third, we may employ this will-power against God, that is, in demoniac rebellion against God, by which we seek our own interest.

From this angle the characteristic feature of the miraculous element in the Bible becomes intelligible. We can at once come to a decision concerning the fact that to-day there are things happening which are at least similar to the miracles of the Bible. The miracles of the Bible are not in contrast to the order of Nature. For the people of the Bible the mechanical interpretation of Nature is not yet possible. The miracles of the Bible are rather to be set in contrast with another background, and a very different one, namely the demoniacal will-powers which rebel against God and hold sway throughout the world. Jesus says (Matthew xii. 28): "If I cast out devils by the spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." The miracles which Jesus performed on the sick are therefore not an interruption of Nature, but a "binding of the strong man," a victory over the will-powers which lie behind the suffering of men, over the "spirit of sickness." The whole of His miraculous activity rests on the assumption that the world has an inner side, which is accessible by the force of the will, and that we can strive with this inner world of Nature by faith, as we strive with some living power. In His acts of healing Jesus is not found

in the spectator's part played by a doctor who prescribes a drug or applies a fomentation. He is wrestling with the might of an adversary, and His whole Person is at stake. That is particularly clear in the graphic accounts of the miracles in Mark, which probably come nearest to reality. Jesus " takes the person by the hand " (Mark i. 31 ; v. 41) and gives her a command. He takes the deaf and dumb man aside, places His fingers in his ears, and spits, and touches his tongue, looks up to heaven and says to him : " Ephphatha, that is, Be opened " (Mark vii. 33 ff.). Jesus is deeply concerned because, in the strife with the demons, the faith of His disciples so often fails. " O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you ? how long shall I suffer you ? bring him unto me " (Mark ix. 19). Then He enters the contest Himself, and the adversary is overcome after obstinate resistance. So it is always a strife with spirits, which claims the whole personality. When the victory is gained, Jesus forbids them to spread it abroad. Only in the tension of the present moment can such a victory be felt as the act of God. As soon as it has become past, and has precipitated itself as an objective event, it has changed to something else. We have lost the inward attitude in which God can make Himself known. Since the miracle can be understood only from within, in the tension of the moment, it can never become a proof of the existence of God. Even the demons can perform miracles.

There is a warning already in the Old Testament (Deuteronomy xiii. 2 ff.) against believing a prophet or a dreamer because he announces signs or wonders and these actually happen, if at the same time he also exhorts: Let us follow other gods! For the same reason it is dangerous to publish abroad to others the performance of a miracle, for they do not know the miracle-worker, and they have not had immediate experience of the act of God.

With Blumhardt we find an attitude similar to that of Jesus and the Apostles. He too wished to break no law of Nature. He had in his mind no mechanical picture of Nature. His whole gift of healing was controlled by the word with which he sprang forward, as to an attack in battle, in every decisive moment of his life, and as he grasped the hands of the sufferer: "Now we have seen long enough what the devil can do. Now we shall see what is possible with our Lord Christ!" His miracles were not acts which suspended the mechanism of Nature, but victories in the strife between Christ and the power of darkness which forms the sombre background to the misery of human sickness. We see, then, that the miraculous element in the Bible can be understood only from a "demoniacal" representation of the world. This assumes that the objective events of Nature which underlie chemical-physical observation, are a precipitate of the will-powers whose reality comes home to us only when we are

not content simply to experiment with them but engage with them in a life-and-death struggle. World-history is therefore a strife of spirits between those powers which are divine and those which are arrayed against God. This strife is not waged only in the human ego, in the depths of the human spirit, in the secret inner chamber where God is alone with the spirit, and the spirit alone with its God. On the contrary, the whole corporeal world, the whole realm of Nature is drawn into this strife. The physical and the ethical are not two separate spheres, independent of each other, as, under the influence of idealism, we have been accustomed to regard them. They are two hemispheres of one and the same reality. The one hemisphere is illuminated. It can be contemplated. It stands before us as an objective fact. The other hemisphere is shrouded in night. It cannot be contemplated nor made objective. The chemical-physical picture of the world is the side which is turned towards the light; the comprehensible side of the same reality which we grasp from within when we make our decision for or against God. The unity of the two hemispheres is expressed in the words of Paul: "The wages of sin is death"—that is, the physical cessation which is the end of every living thing. The solution of the ethical distress, forgiveness of sins through Christ, has, as its counterpart in the other hemisphere, the resurrection from the dead, the new corporeality.

The miracles of the Bible are immediately dependent on reconciliation of conscience. In James v. 14 ff., the command to help the sick through the prayer of faith, is followed by the other: "Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." The bodily sickness weakens when the inner healing has taken place. In Möttlingen also we have experienced this again and again.

The miraculous element in the Bible can be approached, therefore, only in a certain inner attitude, namely, in the attitude of the man in prayer. Prayer is simply standing before God in the indeterminate moment of the present; passing with the aid of God right through the here-and-now, when everything is in the molten state, and fluctuates in confusion. Looking up to God we move into battle with the consciousness: "Our souls for God, our bodies for the foe!" There is no prayer in which we have not the consciousness: "The right hand of the Lord can change all things"; "with God nothing is impossible." Even when we find that the burden is still there, wellnigh as heavy as before, when we see not even the smallest amelioration, it occurs to us in prayer that even this prolongation of the hard reality is not the obstinacy of Matter and Energy (that is only the outward precipitate of it), but a new decision of God. It is His will that things should have the same form in the succeeding hour. Prayer is thus always petition,

even when it takes the form, " Not as I will, but as Thou wilt ! " when, that is, it accepts the unchangeable situation from the hand of God.

It is part of the essence of prayer to have the certainty that the whole of world-history, from the solar orbits to the oscillations of the electrons, lies in this moment in the hand of God like soft clay in the hand of the potter. He can make of it what He wills. No sparrow falls from the roof without His will. Whether the form of the world changes or remains the same, it does not happen from causal necessity, but because God wills it so. In everything that may befall me in the next moment, I have to deal not with dead matter, with laws of Nature, nor with men, but only with Him. Always I stand before the simple choice between Him Who draws me upwards, and the adverse force, which wants to draw me down. Everything else is only expression and precipitate of this spiritual strife. Prayer, therefore, whether the one who prays is conscious of it or not, assumes always the interpretation of Nature which has been evolved in the foregoing discussion. For men who pray, the history of the world when seen from within is Will, divine and demoniac Will. Miracle is the victory of God in this strife of spiritual powers. Everyone who prays knows that this victory is possible at any moment and in any situation.

TIME AND ETERNITY

The Outstanding Question of Eschatology To-day

Contemporary Dogmatic is in every sphere a "No Man's Land of two ages." An older intellectual attitude, which—to use the phrase of Tillich—had self-sufficient foundations, is in conflict with a newer line of thought, in which everything has become precarious, since it is brought within the scope of the widespread criticism of all the ultimate assumptions of our thought. This conflict of two ages is most evident, perhaps, in the question around which the battle is particularly violent to-day—the question of the relation of Time and Eternity. It is not yet turning the flank of the individual questions of eschatology, but it has threatened the fundamental principle involved. The conflict is particularly evident in the relation between the second and third edition of Paul Althaus' *The Last Things*. It is evident also in the alterations in this subject through which Karl Barth's *Epistle to the Romans* has passed; in Rudolf Bultmann's *Jesus*; and in Martin Dibelius' *Historical and*

Super-historical Religion in Christianity. Let us now glance for a moment at the position of the battle.

A

Let us make it clear what kind of solutions of the eschatological question must emerge from the rigid intellectual attitude which is now called in question in all spheres.

The picture that we make for ourselves of the last things depends entirely on the interpretation of Time with which we set out, and therefore on the Time-feeling and the Time-idea, on the manner in which, practically and theoretically, we represent Time. The phenomenological philosophy of to-day is immersed, with quite exceptional concentration, in studying the development of the Time-idea from Aristotle to the present day. But, even if we glance only at the last decades, we can prove that the rigid intellectual standpoint of the " Victorian " period had a different Time-feeling and a different Time-idea from those of the present day. Corresponding to the Life-feeling of the older generation was the idea that the course of Time is a self-sufficient magnitude. It was represented as a line, infinitely long, without beginning and without end, on which the present travelled forwards as a moving point. According to our disposition we perceive this line as a kind of railway-track on which the train of

the spatial world travels forward from station to station, or as a highroad, on which the weary pilgrim leaves behind him one mile after another. The point in common is that the railway-line and the highroad are stationary magnitudes. The portions or segments, into which they are divided, are absolutely stationary. By them is measured everything else that we experience, the beating of our own heart and the work which we accomplish. Time, therefore, appears as a self-sufficient form of the course of the world, which requires no foundation to support it, no grounds to make it possible. Within itself it carries no element of the problematical.

If, on this assumption, an answer is sought to the question which faces every man: What is the end of the journey? What will come with the future, in which the course of the world and the fate of my own life are imprisoned? then there are two ways which may be followed: (1) We remain with our thoughts within the course of Time. We transfer our intellectual centre of gravity to a Time-controlled future, which is the direct prolongation of this course of Time. (2) We pass over the frontiers of Time and escape to a supra-temporal sphere, while, precisely as in the first case, the Time-stream of occurrences flows on into all Eternity.

I. Let us take a brief glance at the variations of the first way. For our work in the present, we

find our bearings by means of a picture of the future which is the continued development in Time of the present world. This picture of the future may lend itself to pessimism. Think, for example, of Spengler's pessimistic theory of civilisation, or of the freezing to death of our solar system, or of Eduard von Hartmann's expectation that there will come a moment when along the whole line consciousness will be extinguished. The picture of the future may, however, be interpreted along optimistic lines too. Here the belief concerning the future held by the last few centuries broke up into a variety of different directions, described, for example, in Emanuel Hirsch's *The Ideas of the Kingdom of God in Recent European Thought* (cf. also Otto Schmitz, *The Kingdom of God and Our Activity*). In this connection it is enough to draw the outlines, in order to arrive at a general view of the possibilities which are presented.

1. The line taken by the English-American school (Grotius, Locke, Spencer, etc.) looks for salvation to come from a new constitution, which so regulates the common life of individuals and of states that all dissensions are avoided.

2. The second direction taken by this belief concerning the future has its origin in France, in Rousseau and Saint-Simon, whose philosophy, as Hirsch has rightly pointed out, is the germ of all

the theories of the future which have appeared in Comte, in Marx, in the older Social-Democratic movement, and in the Religious-Socialists. Saint-Simon has set this motto over his philosophy: "The Golden Age lies before us!" The principle from which this modification resulted is not a new constitution, as in the English ideal, but the divine thought, contained in Christianity, of universal brotherly love, a secularisation of the Kingdom of God. Natural development will lead to the Kingdom of God. The declaration of the rights of man in the French Revolution is the beginning of it. The Industrial Revolution brings us one more step nearer the goal. Unlike Saint-Simon, Marx no longer trusts in the Christian charity of the employer, and therefore transfers to the proletariat the leadership of the future State. Then the Religious-Socialists took over the religious legacy of Saint-Simon, and along with it the hope that, in place of contemporary society, and growing directly from it, will appear the perfect fellowship of love that is of the Kingdom of God.

3. A new form is given to this temporal picture of the future if there is combined with it belief in the existence of the soul after death. Then there is placed alongside the evolution of the events of the world the evolution of the surviving soul. Troeltsch recommends, instead of the traditional future-myth of the Church, Dante's *Divina Commedia* as the greatest eschatological primer of

Christianity which has so far appeared. He would expect, therefore, a continuous development, extending over to the other side, and persisting to the goal of perfection. Through understanding of the self-destructive effect of evil, and through the blessed pains of purification, souls attain, in progressive measure, to the nearer presence of God. The union of all souls in the Love of God leads at last to the dissolution of individual personalities in God. This future development of the soul is still more clearly set forth by Anthroposophy. Transmigration of souls and reincarnation provide the means of a gradual purification till the perfect state is reached.

4. Here we have come to the threshold of that form of the temporal future-hope which is for us of most practical importance. That is the picture of the future which survives in Christian circles, and especially among the sects. Not an evolution, but a catastrophe, is expected. The present world will go under, and a new condition of the world will begin. Out of the richly-coloured material of the apocalyptic of the Bible, a picture of the future is constructed which is the continuation of the present course of the world, but in an improved and revised edition.

In all this we have been content with casting a glance at one of the ways, with its various branches, which can be followed so long as the inner problematical nature of the Time-form is

not yet recognised ; so long as we move about in it still naïvely confident in its naturalness. We paint for ourselves, pessimistically or optimistically, with or without scriptural colours, with or without belief in immortality, a continuation of the temporal development of the world.

II. A second possibility is presented by the same original point of view. It shares the presupposition that Time is a stationary railway-track on which the spatial world rolls forward from station to station to all eternity. If I can see no satisfactory end of this journey, then I attempt to leap out of the train. I escape into a non-temporal sphere, which I imagine to be spatially superimposed on Time, if the spatial picture is interpreted as only a metaphor. So there emerges a dualistic picture of the world. Two storeys lie one above the other. Below, is the temporal course of the events of the world, which flows forward to all eternity. Above, is the Eternal, into which it is possible to escape. This solution of the problem of life has gone through all the centuries in the most varied forms. We have it in Platonism. The world of Ideas is a supernal world, into which souls can retreat from the prison of this Time-order. The Hellenistic mystery-cults of New Testament times were practical disciplines by which to achieve escape from the Time-order and to attain to immortality. In the mysticism of the Middle

Ages we find also again and again the static-spatial picture for the relation of the two spheres. The eternal moment of repose is attained through renunciation of the world. This Platonic eschatology has taken a new form in German idealism. This—as E. Hirsch has shown—is the great contribution which has been made, in contrast with the English and French ideal of the future, by German thinkers from Leibniz to Kant, Fichte and Schleiermacher, to the formation of the idea of the Kingdom of God. It is a contribution which has also deeply influenced the modern idea of the State. While the material world goes forward on its temporal way, we human beings, for the very reason that we are human beings, are immortal spirits, members of a spiritual kingdom. Consequently, we are ultimately independent of the events which take place down yonder on this planet. We are already perfected and satisfied in ourselves. Leibniz and Herder represent the personalities, which are united in this supra-temporal kingdom, as spirits in the full sense of the word. With Kant the spiritual community receives a stamp exclusively ethical. The " noumenon " is attainable only in the ethical relationship. In his *Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason* (*Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*), the Kingdom of God is a community of autonomous, ethical personalities. But the common element is this, that, from the security of this eternal domain, we can call out

with Fichte to the waves of the Time-stream: "I am eternal, and defy your power!" In his *Precepts for the Blessed Life*, Fichte makes merry in his ironical comments on the future hope of popular Christianity. This refers only to the "surroundings" in which we live, and holds that, if the surroundings, this whole outer world around us, were to be changed; if we could be removed to Heaven, as to another dwelling-house with a better establishment, then we should be blessed. No. Blessedness exists only in myself. Surroundings do not matter. "To be eternal every moment, that is the immortality of religion" (Schleiermacher). From this sublime self-assurance of the ego, the State and society are fashioned in this world. Care is taken that Justice and the State shall, at least in some measure, correspond to the worth of the free spirits (Plato's State; Fichte's self-subsistent commercial state). But it is apparent that temporal reality will never completely correspond to that eternal idea. But that also is no misfortune, for we are free, even though we were born in chains. We have an inalienable possession. The eternal values and unconditional validities stand above the waves of the Time-stream, like the calm moonlight which is mirrored in the water, and is broken, only because the surface is broken.

If this Platonic solution, this spatial arrangement of the two storeys one above the other, is pursued through all the variations through which

it has passed from the time of Plato until our own time, then, finally, we must bear in mind here also that form (for us of the highest practical importance) which Platonism has assumed within the Christian Church. This is the idea of Heaven which is prevalent in Christian circles, the thought: Let me only find salvation! What are the sorrows of the world, if only I reach Heaven! With this certainty I am ultimately indifferent to the world's culture and the world's politics, and to everything with which the worldling is so deeply concerned. "Let us not linger all the day By the roadside where children play."[1] This recurring note of Tersteegen is heard in many forms to-day in our sermons and our funeral discourses.

B

We have given a brief glance at the various ramifications of those two answers to the problem of the future, which are possible from the rigid conception of Time. On the one hand is the transfer to the future of the centre of gravity and of the point from which our bearings are taken, and its consequence in the simple prolongation of the course of Time. On the other hand is the supra-temporal fixed point, to which we withdraw. Both solutions, in spite of their

[1] From Tersteegen's hymn beginning: "Kommt, Brüder, lasst uns gehen, der Abend kommt heran." [Translator's note.]

apparent contradiction, arise out of the same intellectual situation. They are the two poles of the same fundamental disposition. For in both cases we live by something of which we have the disposing; something which is self-sufficient. In one case it is the track of Time, which lies stationary like a railway-line, and carries us along to meet a temporal future. In the other case it is the supra-temporal sphere, in which already we find that we are always living, or which at least we can always reach, while we are human beings. In the one case we allow ourselves to be carried by the ship of time. In the other case we leap out on to the "*Tell's Platte*" and find there once more firm ground on which we can stand.

The transition through which we are passing to-day has in this instance also its cause in the fact that doubt is thrown on the presupposition on which these two solutions are based. I refer to the whole Either-Or within which they move, the objective, self-authenticating Time-process. Either we may remain within this process, or else we must escape from it into another, supra-temporal sphere. It was in the Apocalyptic of later Judaism (that connecting link between Old Testament prophecy and the world of the New Testament) that this thought emerged for the first time: Not only the content of Time, but Time itself is something that will be overcome, something that is approaching its annulment. In place of the expectation of a Kingdom of God on

the earth there appeared already in the earlier Apocalyptic the more universal distinction between the two ages (*olam hasse* and *olam habbah*).[1] But now there appears (for example, in the Slavonic Book of Enoch) a thought of much greater significance: "Afterwards shall all times and years be abolished, and henceforth there shall be neither month, nor day, nor hour." Hence "the great Age," "the one Age" is timeless. In the Apocalypse of Baruch also there emerges the idea that the transitoriness, the mutability, of this world does not lie only in its content, but in its Time-form. Herein we discover why it is that everything fair becomes unlovely, and every blossom fades. But in that day there will be an end to transitoriness itself (*corruptela transibit*). There comes that which endures eternally. Thus, for the first time in spiritual history, Time itself is called in question, and we are made conscious of the inner uncertainty in which Time is involved. We are reminded of Luther's saying: "Here we must put Time out of our thoughts, and recognise that in yon world there will be neither Time nor divisions of Time, but all will be an eternal moment." This question has arisen: Is Time perhaps something which cannot possibly have its meaning within itself? Is it perhaps only a transition to something else, which is already present within it, though not yet released? In

[1] עוֹלָם הַזֶּה and עוֹלָם הַבָּא.

our days this question appears afresh in all its profundity. And this is another sign of the similarity between our time and the period in which ancient civilisation declined. There are thoughts and notions which are " in the air " at a certain time. This we can see from the fact that they emerge simultaneously and independently in very different minds, now in popular form, now in scientific form. One such intuition, more or less clearly expressed at the present time, is this, that all enigmas are bound up with the problem of Time ; that we could solve all metaphysical questions, if once we knew what Time is. Bergson, in his book *Time and Freewill*, has attempted to solve the most difficult problem of philosophy, the question of the freedom of the will, from the standpoint of a new interpretation of the duration of Time (*durée réelle*). In this Oswald Spengler has followed him, without being dependent on him. The same direction is followed by the new phenomenological investigations of Heidegger into the idea of Time, while Einstein has introduced relativity into the Time-measure and Minkowski has attempted to place Time as a fourth dimension alongside the three spatial dimensions. This new consciousness in relation to Time has followed many different routes, and everything connected with it is still in the melting-pot, but, nevertheless, it seems to me that it has already brought to light one common negative conception which is of fundamental significance. It has removed

the parallelism between Space and Time. Kant had treated Space and Time as two corresponding appearances of the phenomenal world. Space is the form of the outer sense, Time is the form of the inner sense. The track of Time corresponds to the line in Space. One is measured by seconds, the other by centimetres. Bergson has called attention to the fact that there is here an inaccuracy. The apparent similarity between the track of Time and a line in Space rests on our belief that we could measure Time with the clock in our hand, as we can measure the spatial line with the metre-rod. But do we in fact measure Time at all when, by the use of a chronometer, we determine how many minutes is required by a train to make the journey from Berlin to Magdeburg? No, we have determined only that two mechanical occurrences in Space, the revolution of the wheels of the clock and the passage of the train, are so related to each other that certain elements of the one occurrence correspond to certain parts of the other. That is, we have established equations of simultaneity between the duration of one process and the duration of the other. With duration itself, that is, with real Time, we have had no dealings whatever through our procedure of measurement. Bergson attempts to make this specially clear by an example. Suppose that the clock suddenly began to go a thousand times faster, and at the same time the train travelled a thousand times faster; suppose also

that the pace of all other occurrences was increased a thousand-fold, then this increase in speed would not be recorded at all by the clock and the chronometer. Consequently, with our instruments we fail altogether to grasp Time itself, real duration, the continuous flow from one moment to another. How then do we become aware of the duration of Time at all, if we cannot determine it with our instruments of measurement? To this question we can only reply: We experience it. Duration of Time is not something which thrusts itself on us from outside through objective observation. No, Time is the "existence-form" of our ego, the essence of the mind, as Augustine has said in the eleventh book of the *Confessions* (a passage on which Heidegger seizes again in his phenomenological investigations): "*In te, anime meus, tempora metior!*" If Time is no longer a magnitude amenable to measurement and complete in itself, but the existence-form of the ego, which we can grasp only in non-objective fashion, then we are once again brought face to face with the central question, around which discussion concerning the last things revolves to-day. It is the question: Is this temporal existence the only one that there is? Or is there still another form of existence? In other words: Do we never escape from the Either-Or in which hitherto eschatology has been almost always involved: *either* an expectation for the future, directed, in the sense of evolution or of a catastrophic act, to the end of

history, with which is bound up every danger of Utopian schemes ; *or* a retreat to supra-temporal Space and then impassibility towards all the activity of the world, with the resultant other-worldly egoism ? Or is there a way of escape from this alternative ? Is there a synthesis, a third possibility, in which the fruitful thoughts of the two schools, at first sight the only possible ones, may be brought together into a higher unity ? Is there an end of the whole temporal system, and consequently a " telos " in the full sense of the New Testament ?

In the first two editions of his book *The Last Things*, Althaus had undertaken a great task of tidying up. In the chapter entitled " Criticism of the Eschatology of the End of History " he had wiped out the whole world of expectancy built up on Scripture and centred on the Book of Daniel. But what was the substitute which he offered in its place ? In the first edition the impression was forced on the reader that he withdrew, precisely as the great mystics and idealists have done, to the supra-temporal background of Time. Every time, he said, is the last time. Every time has, fundamentally, the same relation to Eternity. Involuntarily he fastened, like the mystics, on the spatial picture to illustrate this connection. At each point of Time stands a perpendicular ; that is the connection with Eternity. The parallel verticals which are thus dropped on the Time-line meet in infinity. They

are one in the sphere of the supra-temporal. Every time lies in the twilight of Romans xiii. 12 : " The night is far spent, the day is at hand." Every time is cast ashore on the coast of Eternity. Every time is in immediate relation with the end and with the judgment. Instead, therefore, of looking forwards, reckoning, questioning, or spinning visions, it is better to turn the eyes upwards. All eschatological assertions must be transposed to the relation between Time and Eternity which holds at every point alike. The question regarding the When ? of the Parousia is wrongly conceived and fruitless. Thus, it appeared, we find ourselves back at the Platonic standpoint. The solid rails of the Time-track lie there still. They are not destroyed nor torn up. We have only risen above them in a vertical direction. At first sight, the same impression is made also by the references of Barth and Bultmann to the last things. Max Strauch, in his book on the theology of Karl Barth (p. 18), believes that his eschatology may be thus interpreted : He rejects *in extenso* " this temporal misunderstanding, when it deals with some mythical collapse of the world, some historical, tellurian or cosmical catastrophe, a rude, brutal, theatrical spectacle, such as was awaited constantly by excitable people." " Such a terrible or wonderful finale to history " has not yet come to pass, and never will come to pass. Bultmann and Dibelius seem still more definitely to reject the expectation of a *consummatio mundi* which will

take place in Time. If Jesus is entangled in this view of the world, then that is part of the Time-bound, mythological ideas in which He clothed His message. The kernel of His message for us is still the eternal judgment which takes place every moment.

If the real, temporal end is rejected as myth; if, in consequence, the stream of Time rolls on with its dark floods to all Eternity, then it appears that there is left as a possibility only the Platonic escape into the supra-temporal, which is every moment at our disposal. But this idealistic Tell's Leap into the supra-temporal is, on the other hand, rejected by Althaus as well as by the dialectic theology as a relic of the older intellectual situation. Althaus is in marked contradiction to Idealism, and nowhere more clearly than in this, that, in contrast with Friedrich Traub and E. Hirsch, it is not sufficient for him that we should live on in a kingdom of perfected spirits. This earth is not only, as for Traub, a setting for the parts we are to play, nor is it, as for Albrecht Ritschl, " pre-condition of the moral kingdom of created spirits," means to the end of a kingdom of Love, and so scaffolding for the building of the kingdom of spirits, which can then be broken up. No; Nature, History, Nationality, Art, and the efforts of Culture have for Althaus an independent significance, a value of their own. They contain special thoughts of God. All this must be brought to perfection. We wait for a new world in which

everything, for example even the individuality of nations, shall experience a " protective consummation." This consummation cannot be comprehended in the relation of each moment with Eternity. In the present, it is possible only for the kingdom of spirits to be consummated, but not the cosmical surroundings of that kingdom. Once more our eyes are directed to the future. We are led in the same direction by the way in which Althaus deals with the question of the Judgment. The believer in Christ, he says, looks forward to the Judgment also as the final verdict. Our Christian position cannot dispense with the prospect of a judgment which lies always before us, which is still outstanding, if the depth and seriousness of our certainty of salvation is not to suffer.

The third edition of Althaus' book on eschatology gives the impression of being somewhat inconsistent on this point. The criticism of the end-of-history eschatology remains as it was. But those sentences have been withdrawn in which the End, in the scriptural sense, appeared to be dispensed with. " To-day I can no longer repeat the sentence of the first edition which said that the question of the When ? of the fulfilment was not only unanswerable but even falsely framed and meaningless." Slotemaker, Hartenstein and others had pointed out in objection to Althaus that it is impossible to cling to the narrative of salvation and to give up the narrative of the

End. To this he now answers: "The End is the side of the Parousia turned towards history. In this sense, as the end of history, the Parousia is a historical fact, which is certainly not empty and impoverished, but in the highest degree pregnant and positive." He admits that the first edition forgot the interest of theology in the approaching end of history, and laid all the emphasis on the permanent shipwreck of Time on Eternity—that is, the End which is always present. The question concerning the When? of the End remains, to be sure, in every respect God's secret, but the fact of this end is an inalienable element of the Christian hope.

Barth also, in spite of the rejection of the "mythical decline of the world," is unable to be satisfied with speaking of the judgment that inheres in every moment. He requires the Biblical word concerning the last hour, the sound of the last trump. He speaks of the end of all Time, the supra-temporal goal and end of Time, the limit and annulment of Time, the entrance of Eternity. According to Bultmann, the future is the authentic future belonging to God, that is, a future over which we have no command. God is the God of the present, because His claim meets man in his present Here and Now. But at the same time He is also the God of the future, since He stands before him as the future, which discloses itself to man in Judgment, either as tribunal or as grace (cf. Bultmann, *Jesus*, in all

the relevant passages). But, when Bultmann seeks for an illustration of what he means by this future of God, he comes, involuntarily, to a comparison of it with death. That which, for the universe, is the Kingdom of God, for the individual man is death. Because death is always coming, it is always there already, and casts its gigantic shadow over every moment of life. *Media in vita in morte sumus.* But death is a real, temporal end of human life, and consequently not something which is an abiding future to all eternity.

We see, therefore, that the most recent assertions on eschatology made by the younger schools of Dogmatics carry within them an element of uncertainty. Something new is here seeking expression, something that will overcome the old Either-Or between end-of-history eschatology and Platonism. But this new thing has not yet taken distinct form. Let us attempt to follow its lines of development from the present situation.

C

We are seeking for a new understanding of what, in the New Testament, is called τὸ τέλος. The End, in the New Testament sense, is a consummation in which, in the deepest sense, the whole of temporality is cancelled—that is, not annihilated, but fulfilled. Seen from one side,

this End is doubtless a temporal End. Barth attempts, unsuccessfully, in his exposition of 1 Corinthians, with reference to Hofmann, to take εἶτα in 1 Cor. xv. 24, logically. But there can be no doubt that the word corresponds to the foregoing ἀπαρχή and ἔπειτα and is intended as the third act of a temporal drama. Seen from the other side, however, this temporal End is Eternity, cancellation of the whole temporal form, of the whole σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (1 Cor. vii. 31). How is this thought to be understood? Let us try first of all, apart from all more particular reasoning, to trace this thought back to its original presupposition. Time is the nature of the fallen creation—that is, of creation which has fallen out of the immediate relation to God. But, fallen creation though it be, it remains still creation, and its whole life is a breath of God. It has not fallen out of the hand of God. The word remains secure: "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." Both expressions must retain the same force, "fallen" and "creation." Only then does there emerge the unique equipoise of the underlying attitude of Scripture. That we find ourselves in a fallen state is shown, more clearly than anywhere else, by the insoluble antinomy: God is present; He is the ground and life of all things; but He is invisible; He is not forthwith accessible; He can be denied. We cannot objectify God. As soon as we wish to do so, we make, not God, but a worldly sub-

stitute; we transgress the second commandment and enter on idolatry. Hence we can express the relation between temporality and God only in a painful contradiction. Since God is the ground and life of all things, therefore everything contained in Time, every element of Nature and History, to the very rim, is full of Eternity. But this eternal content is found in a latent state. We cannot set it free. To use an illustration from physics, it is like the case of the atoms, which carry gigantic forces within themselves, which, nevertheless, we cannot split up in order to set these forces free. The treasure cannot be unearthed; it remains concealed and disguised. It is not in our power to unveil the concealed eternal content of the world. That can be done only by God Himself, Who has ordained this Time-form for this present situation. He alone can take back this form. What, then, is the τέλος? Not the fashioning of a new state, but the disclosure of a hidden, divine content of Time, and consequently ἀποκάλυψις. Hence each assertion involves the other; the one "The end is coming"; the other "It is already here"—that is, it is hidden, and is accessible only through a gift of God in Christ. Time does not carry its meaning in itself; it is only a transition to the disclosure of its contents, to the fulfilment of the meaning of the whole Time-form. To-day we are perhaps not yet ready for the understanding of this New Testament thought. The new con-

sciousness of the nature of Time must first of all be brought to a definite conclusion. But there are a great number of ways in which, starting from the present intellectual standpoint, we may be brought back again, from many sides, to these New Testament thoughts. I wish to mention only the most important of these ways.

1. In the realm of pure feeling we find ourselves to-day in a situation in which men, in increasing numbers, are burdened not only by the content of the world's history, but by Time itself. That which was recognised by Schopenhauer, Tolstoy, and Eduard von Hartmann, is always being more widely accepted, that everything temporal, however noble it may be, remains, as such, unsatisfactory and incomplete. It lies simply in the nature of Time that everything which enters into the Time-form, will, after a short period of blossoming, become withered, obsolete, rusty, consumed, exhausted. Even the most beautiful music, if it is played a thousand times without intermission, becomes unbearable. It cannot be borne any longer. It is an exhausted *leit-motiv*. Even the finest story, which, at the first hearing, stirred the emotions and moved to tears, becomes tedious when we have heard it thrice without intermission. At first we suppose the fault to lie in the content. If only it were a nobler melody, then we could listen to it for ever. If only a more powerful romance could be composed, then

it would be able to engross our thoughts to all Eternity. Then gradually we discover that it is not the fault of the content, but of the Time-form. Even a heavenly blessedness, supposing that we could endow it with the highest joys, not physical alone, but intellectual and spiritual, will turn to unbearable tedium, so long as we imagine it in temporal forms. Even a kingdom of world-peace, such as that which is the aspiration of American Christianity, would, in a short time after it was achieved, become so tedious that men would wish themselves back again in the rude times of militarism. It is a feature of our mature years that we experience first of all in the sphere of feeling the world-pain that is contained in the Time-form as such. The older we become the more clearly do we feel the melancholy which is contained as a bitter leaven in every pleasure of the world, the Tantalus-torment of joy, the impossibility of resting in any pleasure. It is as Goethe said :

> " If to each moment I could say,
> ' Ah ! fair one, fleeting fair one, stay ! ' "[1]

Perhaps Hölderlin, in his song of Hyperion's Destiny, has given the best expression to the torment which arises out of our being constantly dragged down from the stream of Time into the depths. First he casts a glance upwards to the

[1] Cf. *Faust*, I, line 1699. [Translator's note.]

celestials, who draw their breath free of all destiny, whose eyes look out in calm, eternal clearness. Then he proceeds: "But to us it is given to rest in no abode. They vanish, they fall, suffering mankind, blindly from one hour to another, like water thrown from cliff to cliff, all the year long down into the unknown."

So the impression is forced on us along the way of feeling that not the content of Time but the Time-form itself is the deepest ground of the world's pain. It is something incomplete in itself, something without rest. If there is to be completion, then it must be found in this form itself being superseded, and the Time-stream coming to rest in the ocean of Eternity.

2. The experience of conscience points also in the same direction. The more sensitive the conscience, and the less it is blunted by familiarity with tradition, by considerations of comfort, or by other influences, the sooner it discovers the contradiction in which the Time-form as such stands with the ethical demands of which it is aware. I suppose we have all at one time had the experience of finding several demands forcing themselves on us at the same time. They ought all to be met simultaneously, and yet this is impossible since we are bound to Time. During the war, when a shell exploded in the middle of a company, and from every side there arose the pathetic cry of "Stretcher-bearers!", then it was

often impossible for the single stretcher-bearer who remained to give help everywhere. If he was able to hasten to the assistance of even one of the wounded and attempt to retain the life that was running out, one glance at the other casualties told him all too plainly that the few moments, in which they had to be allowed to lie bleeding, were fatal to them. The distress which in such a case tore at the heart of the helper is known also to all those who have encountered in life a similar, pathetic experience, though perhaps in a less dreadful form. But, if we ask ourselves what it is actually that seizes with such agitation on our heart, then we make a strange discovery. It is not only the sympathy with the victims to whom, in spite of our goodwill, we must refuse our assistance. Nor is it only the feeling that we are compelled to play a hard rôle in a tragedy. No; that which here lays particular hold on the ethical person is the fact that the ethical demand for bringing help is not silent even when the Time-form as such, in which the person is simply a dweller, makes obedience to it impossible. Attempts have been made from time to time to help ourselves by the thought that such an impossibility absolves us from fulfilling the obligation. It would be enough if the will to help were there. *Ultra posse nemo obligatur.* But the significant thing is that this logic simply is not intelligible to the conscience, that conscience is unaffected by this acquittal, and incriminates a

man so long as he has not fulfilled his obligation. And when once our eyes have been opened to take notice of it, then we find that such cases are by no means isolated occurrences. If we did not require time in order to get from one place to another, then we could hasten away to a distant sick-bed, where a dying man might hear once more a word of love from our lips; a mother could protect her child in a very different fashion from the dangers of a distant town, if at every moment she could be near him. All these demands could be met, and a thousand others, which conscience lays heavy on our souls, if Time did not frustrate the fulfilment of them. In this way it may become clear to the man who is engaged in the ethical struggle that this Time-form as such is something which belongs to the curse of fallen creation.

3. As soon, however, as we have once had such experiences, there sets in a philosophical reflection on the *Problem of the Form of Eternity* (Althaus), which leads us from a fresh side in the same direction (cf. Kant, *The End of All Things*) (1794: Collected Works, VI: published by Hartenstein). Is it not an utterly impossible thought, a contradiction in itself, to speak of a cessation of the Time-stream, of a termination of Time? Every end is surely itself a moment in Time, and therefore always a new beginning, a continuation of the track of Time. To this question the answer must be given from

the present-day position of the philosophical consciousness by the counter-question, Is it possible at all to think of the track of Time without contradiction ?

To begin with let us disregard Kant's solution of the antinomy of Time, and approach the matter only from his presentation of the conflict. Then we are faced with the two assertions, which appear to be equally impossible for our thought : (1) Time has no beginning and no end ; for each beginning would itself be the end of a time that had gone before, and each end the beginning of a time that was still to come. (2) Time has a beginning and an end. Otherwise, we should have to say that in the present moment an eternity had elapsed ; but an eternity can never come to an end. It is possible to carry this argument farther with reference to Hessenberg (Gerhard Hessenberg, *Grundbegriffe der Mengenlehre*, 1906, Part I : "The Fundamental Ideas of Division, Comparison, and Arrangement") and to say : If Time has no beginning and no end, then the present moment A will be the conclusion of an endlessly long period of time. In the same way also the moment B, which is the conclusion of the next hour, will be the end of an endlessly long time. Consequently, the section of Time which closes with A will be equally endless with the section which closes with B. And yet the space of Time which closes with A is part of the space of Time which closes with B. Hence a part

will be equal to the whole, which is a contradiction. We see therefore that our thought leads to two impossibilities, two views which contain a contradiction within them, as soon as we turn our thoughts to Time. It is a superficial opinion that Time without beginning and without end is a thought which escapes inner contradiction, and that only Time which has a beginning and an end involves a contradiction. It has been forgotten here that we cannot think of the track of Time without a progressive Now-point. The progress of the Now-point from one hour to another presupposes, however, precisely in the same way as progress along a spatial line, a point of orientation, to which we are approaching or from which we are travelling. In considering Time, we are faced with the same difficulty of thought as in the attempt to think of our own birth or our own death, the waking or the quenching of our consciousness. That my consciousness has had a beginning and that it will have an end is a thought which holds an inner contradiction ; for the starting-point and the finishing-point of consciousness must surely lie in consciousness. I must either have experienced this moment or still be experiencing it. But, if I am experiencing it, then certainly it is not the starting-point or the finishing-point of consciousness, for I can experience a point in consciousness only as the transition-point from one stretch to another. Nevertheless, in spite of this impossibility of conceiving them,

the waking and the quenching of consciousness are realities for us, which we experience afresh every day, when we awake out of sleep, or fall asleep.

Kant, as is well known, has removed the difficulty so far as it is purely epistemological, by saying: Both assertions concerning Time are equally false, and are answering a question which is wrongly formulated. For they rest on a confusion of the "thing in itself" with the world of appearance. But this way out does not solve the problem of Time. That Kant could be satisfied with it shows clearly that he had not yet suffered under the yoke of Time as our generation of to-day has suffered. For, even if the track of Time is a form of intuition, I cannot get rid of the question: Will this form of intuition be done away with, or is its nature such as to make that impossible? Is there an enfranchisement from the endless imprisonment of Time or not? If there is such a thing as the annulment of this form of intuition, Time, let us say with the quenching of human consciousness, then we are faced with the same difficulty, as soon as we try to imagine this annulment. Here again is a temporal end of temporality. But, if there is no such thing as annulment, if Time goes on to all Eternity, then there is also no such thing as the progress of Time. For this is conceivable only as the approach to a temporal point of orientation which lies ahead, or as the passing away from one which lies behind. Hence, at the end of the

argument as at the beginning the situation remains thus: We are faced with two answers to the question concerning the end of all things, between which we must choose. One holds that Time cannot be annulled. There is no deliverance from Time itself, but only a flight out of the track of Time, through which it is possible to reach a supra-temporal sphere. The other holds that Time will be annulled. Only in this case is there an "End of all things." We cannot escape a decision on this question by Kant's distinction between the world of appearance and the "thing in itself." We are compelled to take a stand. Along the way of thought clearly no decision is to be reached, since both solutions fall equally under condemnation before the tribunal of thought. Thus the decision can be reached only existentially, beginning with God or from conscience. What must we say about the question if God has become a reality for us? If God is the highest reality, on which every existence rests, then we have here a negative judgment concerning the Time-form. For in this God is invisible. The highest reality can be expressed only indirectly in the Time-form, through denial of temporality. God cannot be objectified in Time. Therefore His existence can be doubted and denied. Hence the contradiction in which we are involved when we wish to think of Time is only an expression for the fact that the Time-form carries something

unsolved within it, that it is something incomplete in itself. If God is, then there must be an annulment of Time, a disclosure of its eternal content, which so far has been concealed. Only in this "fulfilment" of Time can the synthesis of the two contradictory assertions be found, which we are compelled to make in regard to Time. But this fulfilment is not in our power. It is God's affair. He alone can solve the antinomy of Time. We cannot yet imagine to ourselves this solution, this point of intersection of the two lines of the antinomy. Perhaps we can go only so far as to say that the two sides of the antinomy accurately render the suspense in which Time is regarded by faith. *That Time must have an end and a beginning*, this side of the antinomy corresponds to the certainty that the Time-form is not something eternal which might endure for ever unchanged. It must have an end. *That Time is endless*, this other side of the antinomy is an expression of the sense that something eternal resides in the Time-form, and that, consequently, the annulment of the Time-form is not annihilation but disclosure, disclosure of its eternal content which is already present in it. This disclosure must come. Otherwise God is not God. It is not sufficient that God should make possible for us the Platonic flight from temporality. In that case the curse of the Time-form would not be annulled. God would not have gained the victory along the whole line. The world would not be

overcome. The solution would only have unlocked for us a place of refuge to which we could escape out of the world. If there is to be victory over the last enemy, death, then we must grasp the truth, though it may appear quite as contradictory for our thought as death itself: Time has not its meaning within itself; it presses towards a moment, in which it will be consummated and removed to give place to a higher form of existence. This moment, seen from one side, is a last point of Time, and, seen from the other, it is Eternity.

4. All these considerations lead us to a fresh and more profound examination of the New Testament view of history, which is to be understood only from the side of the τέλος. The view which regards history as a stream, which passes through a variety of courses and presses on to a state of consummation, is clearly in contrast with the picture of history as it appeared to the ancient world. The New Testament has it in common with only Parseeism and perhaps the Syrian-Mandæan religion. For the temperament of the ancient world, history was either a marking-time, in which the situation remained always the same (this might be called the "punctual" view of Time); or history moves in a circle; the change of vegetation, repeating itself annually, is the symbol of the course of Time. Oswald Spengler's view of Time is occupied also with this picture of the periods of vegetation, and similarly

Nietzsche's thought of the eternal recurrence. In contrast with this, the New Testament view of history is, in mathematical terms, vectoral, that is, it stands under the symbol of a straight line, which receives its direction from an end-point. All assertions concerning Time are determined in the New Testament by this fundamental standpoint. "When the fulness of the time was come God sent forth His Son." "Mine hour is not yet come." "This is your hour and the power of darkness." "Now is come salvation and strength and the Kingdom of our God and the power of His Christ." Thus every time has its own place on the straight line which leads up to the τέλος, and this place cannot be compared with any other. There are three special pictures of human history which illustrate this: (1) The picture of the growing building (clearest in Ephesians ii. 20 ff.). (2) The picture of the tree (Romans xi. 17 ff.). (3) The picture of the harvest, which is not employed, as in the ancient world, to signify an element of an annual revolution returning on itself, but means always a final harvest. All these pictures have one thought in common: Every moment in the progression of Time has one place alone which belongs to it in the Time-whole. For every point of Time carries all the previous ones within itself, and is carried by them. The branches are carried by the trunk, and are fed from the root. The stones above rest on those below, and finally on the foundation-stone

and corner-stone. In the harvest all the buds and blooms of spring and summer come to their perfection. Hence the last Time is a *consummatio* of the whole course of Time. The Divine and that which is opposed to the Divine must stand face to face finally in a consummation which gathers up in itself all that has gone before. For only then can the theme of world-history be brought to a decision, namely the combat between the Divine and the satanic force. In this view of Time taken by the New Testament and by Parseeism lies the root of the whole modern idea of history. Hegel and Herder have taken from this their philosophy of history. The only distinction is that Hegel did not look forward to a "telos" still in the future, but believed that he had arrived at it already in his own time. Here lay the first possibility of the "kairos"-consciousness which Tillich made once more a living reality. The important thing, then, in each situation, is to find the "Word of the Hour." Each Time requires its own ethic, for it is like no previous Time. Certainly, when looked at from one side, it has the same relation to Eternity as every other Time, since every Time is a Time of crisis. And yet, regarded from the other side, each Time has its own relation to Eternity, which no other Time has. For it has a determined place within the straight Time-line. "Now is our salvation nearer than when we first believed" (Romans xiii. 11). The present hour has therefore a

different distance from the last hour than that of every earlier Time. It all depends on our knowing the hour in which we find ourselves (*εἰδότες τὸν καιρόν*). We cannot reiterate without change for our time what Luther has said, or what Kant has said. We must find the word for this hour. We must fulfil our destiny, which is to be children of this time. There is no sense in going back romantically in dreams to a period that is past. The meaning of the history of salvation has its source and origin in this scriptural feeling of Time, and therefore in the "telos." Within the growing building of human history, which approaches a final consummation; within which every stone has its own place belonging to it alone, Christ has a unique position. He is the second Adam, with whom the period of consummation begins, the "foundation-stone," which carries the new building, the corner-stone upon which the future rests.

We must therefore follow up the new consciousness concerning the nature of Time in which we stand to-day. We must reckon with the end of the whole temporal form of the world as earnestly and as soberly as we reckon with our own death. We must approach every crisis of politics, every social revolution, with the question, What light is thrown on this event by the End? The hand on the clock of the worlds moves ceaselessly forward towards the stroke of twelve. The important point is to know which hour it

has struck. If we reckon with this End and regard the course of the world from the viewpoint of the End, naturally we are exposed to serious dangers. There is the danger that we shall wish to fix the date of the End and to put a fantastic interpretation on historical events. But all the fantastic ideas which have brought the Christian hope into discredit must not lead us into any mistake about the thing itself, about the truth, that the End is coming. This End, as Althaus is always emphasising afresh, and with justification, remains God's secret. Nevertheless, we must make a few assertions concerning it, which follow immediately from what Christ is for us, if His claim is true, that with Him the turning-point of Time has come. As soon as we are apprehended by Christ, three certainties concerning the End shine out for us: (1) Christ will come again in majesty and to judgment. (2) There will then be a new corporeality, the resurrection of the dead. (3) The whole of Nature and the world of men will be changed into a new form.

1. The expectation of the second coming of Christ is not a fantastic dream, but a sober assertion of faith, which is inevitable as soon as we have fathomed the profound connection between temporality and the remoteness of God. It is not only that the Lord of Majesty was crucified in His defencelessness, without vindication before men, and that this is an unbearable dis-

sonance which must be resolved if God is God. There is this other fact which also stands in contradiction to that which He is and that which He means. He Who may command in the name of God must intercede for the discipleship of men, must invite them, Come all of you to Me! It is as if an absolute monarch should be compelled to intercede with his subjects for their obedience. How is it come to this strange pass? The reason lies not first of all in the enmity of the Jews or in the godlessness of the Romans, but primarily in the fact that God reveals Himself in Time. The form of a servant is involved already in the fact that the Eternal enters into the mortal form of Space and Time. For that which is in Space and Time can never be omnipresent. It must proceed from a determined point and spread out in concentric waves. God, as Luther said, must "become small," if He is to have compassion on men, who are immured in the everlasting prison of Space and Time. In this Time-form, and consequently in Christ, God cannot yet have become really visible. He remains veiled. It is possible forthwith to refuse to see the Father even in Christ. But now God has become reconciled to the world in Christ, and therefore the consequences of estrangement from God must be removed. The veil of the Time-form must fall; the cloud which has concealed the true nature of Christ must vanish. Christ must become visible, to be seen as He is. "It doth not yet appear what we

shall be: but when it shall appear,[1] we shall see him as he is." The appearing of Christ is sufficient to convince all men at once of the validity of His claim. "Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail" (Rev. i. 7). In place of the pleading, which corresponded to the Time-form, there appears something else, absolute power, with which He dashes down His enemies, and glorifies His disciples. There comes also a judgment which needs no trial, since the position is made clear for every one by the fact that Christ has become visible. With this is bound up the End which, according to Revelation xxi., was awaited by the Church. The cloud disappears which veils the presence of God, and God comes forth from His invisible dwelling. There is no more need of the sun. God is the sun which gives light to all things. Hence He takes the place which is held, within the present Time-form, by the light. There is no more need of temple or church; these also are an expression of the remoteness of God. For God Himself is there. "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men!"

2. Necessary also is the second element in the world of hope of the early Church, the hope of the resurrection of the body. Here there comes

[1] Luther's translation of 1 John iii. 2 gives the neuter subject to φανερωθῇ. [Translator's note.]

to light the decisive contrast between Platonic dualism and the dualism of the New Testament. Both views of the world reckon with two types of existence. But in the Platonic system the two worlds are like two storeys built one on top of the other. This static dualism implies a mood of resignation in face of temporal reality. In the Biblical view the relation of the two types of existence is completely different. The two forms of being stand in antagonism to each other, in a state of high tension, which moves on to a solution. What is weak here, is strong there. What is foolish here, is wiser than men there. What is nothing here, is there the true nature of being. What is it that the strife centres on in this dynamic dualism of the New Testament view of life? The strife centres on the fact of visibility. It is impossible that these two forms of being should be visible together. Either the one or the other must be objective. Now, the things of Time are visible. Then, the veil falls, and another form of existence appears. The second existence takes on the visibility which hitherto was the property of the first. What is then the meaning of the End? It does not mean the beginning of the second existence, but its disclosure, its uncovering. This leads to the mysterious fact of which Paul and John have spoken with one voice: Christ has entered, with His resurrection, into the second existence, as the first-fruits of those who are fallen asleep, as the

originator of a new world-form. Everyone who has part in Christ enters already on the second existence. Hence, if the word "corporeality" is taken in a new and wider sense, it is possible to say: Everyone, who is in Christ, already has the new corporeality, but in complete concealment. Confusion with the astral body of Anthroposophy is out of the question, for we are dealing with something which can never be objectified in this Time-form. In this sense we are to understand the passage in Colossians iii. 3 ff.: "Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is your life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory." This disclosure of the new existence, which was already present in a latent state, is the resurrection of the body. The certainty that we have passed already from death unto life, does not therefore stand in contrast to the other certainty, that we shall be awakened at the last day. On the contrary, the first certainty involves the second. For, as soon as the new existence in Christ is experienced as present fact, then the contradiction is there, pressing on to a solution; the strife is there, seeking for the appearance of that which comes as a gift to us in an invisible manner. In the Gospel of St John the two assertions are always bound up with each other: He who believes on Me has passed from death unto life, *and* I shall raise him up at the last day. We understand the homogeneousness of the two sentences only if we

have overcome the Platonic interpretation of St John's Gospel.

3. This disclosure of the second existence cannot, however, be confined to one part of creation. For we are not concerned with alterations which extend over one part alone of the former world. Alterations can be undertaken with a storey or a wing of a house; it is not necessary to include the whole house. But the transformation with which we are here concerned does not take place in one part of the content of the world, but in the ground-form of the whole. This cannot be removed piecemeal. Either it must go altogether, or not at all. "The form (σχῆμα) of this world passes away." So it comes to the train of thought in Romans viii. 19 ff.: "The earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the Son of God." "The whole creation groaneth together with us and lieth in travail." The picture of travail is linked immediately to the Apocalyptic of later Judaism, which awaited the birth of a new world, to be preceded by a cosmic catastrophe. The details of this future expectation remain a secret, and every attempt to portray it leads to fantasy. But the fundamental thought is unavoidable: "The bondage of the transient," that is, the Time-form, in which God can never become visible, presses on to a solution. The whole creation finds itself in an unresolved state. The necessity of destroying (this continuous and

painful conflict by which the process of life goes forward) is something which cries for solution. If God is, then there must also be a new form of life in which this painful contradiction will be removed—" the glorious liberty of the children of God," into which the whole creation is taken up.

THE MESSAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT TO THE HEATHEN WORLD

Mussolini, in his autobiography, has summed up the present-day situation. And he is in a position to know as few others know the heights and the depths of humanity to-day. He was formerly an itinerant workman, a frequenter of prisons, a Socialist editor, and finally he is now a powerful statesman of an awakening nation. These are his words:[1] "There are three great empires which to-day form the tripod of humanity. There is the British Empire, which still possesses lands, but to all appearances has lost its leading idea; the Russian, which has an idea and is seeking lands for itself in East and West; and the Christian, which no longer has any land, but an idea in which 400 million[2] persons scattered over the whole earth are agreed. Of these three, the little ship of the Divine Hebrew, Jesus, still floats better than any other on the stormy waves of history, unless it be that everything is breaking

[1] Mussolini, *Story of his Life*, by Margherita G. Sarfatti from autobiographical material. Leipzig, 1926.

[2] According to later statistics, 565 million.

up and that in August 1914 it was not a war of nations that began but the crash which is threatening, more and more imminently, the civilisation of the white races." The question is: What is the idea which is held by this Kingdom of the Divine Hebrew, Jesus, a kingdom which hitherto has had no land, and certainly will possess none in the future; and how does the idea confer the right of inviting the whole of humanity into the Kingdom? Some twenty years ago missionaries could say to the heathen: We bring to you a message which has given to the nations of the West their success in the world's history and their superior culture and system of government. To-day the peoples of Asia and Africa have discovered that the superiority of the white races is bound up not with the message of Christ but with technical achievements (railways, guns, tanks, and the like) which can be appropriated quite well even without the Christian articles of faith, and which, indeed, can be employed with much greater effect by those who occupy a standpoint that is purely materialistic. By this, of course, it is not to be understood that we must cease to point out to the heathen world that the Gospel is a constructive force for every nation which receives it, that it brings to light a new manner of life and new forms in which men can dwell together. To-day also that remains as one of the starting-points and points of contact in missionary preaching. But these things cannot be the essence of

the message but only the results, as it were the heat rays which emanate from the fire which Christ wished to kindle on the earth, not this fire itself. It is the situation as it confronts us to-day which compels us to go back behind all those cultural and social results to the original cause itself, that is, to the message with which the Apostles went out into the hostile world and for which they died as martyrs, long before any national culture or social result had proceeded from it, while indeed the worst of all abuses in the ancient social world, slavery, had not yet been removed under the influence of Jesus.

The first missionaries of Christianity did not set out under the impulse to carry on propaganda for a philosophical idea or because their mouths spoke out of the abundance of their hearts. Rather it was because they knew themselves to be sent and commissioned by Christ through the Holy Spirit. "Ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πρεσβεύομεν," says Paul in one passage in which he briefly summarises his commission (2 Cor. v. 20). He likens himself to the ambassador of a king, who, in a hostile land, where he stands defenceless, has a message to deliver which, in certain circumstances, may cost him his life. The message must be spoken to all men, no matter to which nation or culture they belong, whether they are atheists, pantheists, or theists, educated Greeks or barbarians. What is the content of this grave tidings which, wherever it came, has worked like the fall of a dynamite

bomb, shattering the unity of families and nations, and bringing a revolution into the life of the Roman Empire ? We have only a few passages in the New Testament, in which the message brought by the early Church to the heathen world of the day is briefly summarised. As Jesus, in His home in Nazareth, spoke of His mission, as it were in announcement of His programme (Luke iv. 18 f.) there sat before Him in the assembly of the synagogue the Jews who believed in the promise of the Messianic Kingdom. It was sufficient for Him to say that with His coming the happy year of the Lord had dawned, which was promised in Isaiah 61. Moreover, the majority of the missionary discourses in the Acts of the Apostles are addressed to Israelites who are waiting for salvation. Only in a few passages of the New Testament are we witnesses of that process which to-day is so important for us, the coming of the early Church face to face with the Greek world, which stood outside the Biblical view of the world and had quite different presuppositions. As the friction of steel causes fire to be struck from stone, so, in this contact with an intellectual world which is in contrast with the Bible, there must be the flash of that spark which Jesus desired to cast on the earth in order to kindle a fire in it. Hence we listen eagerly for the way in which the Apostles, according to the oldest tradition available to us, gave expression to their message when for the first time they stood before an audience of Greek

polytheists and pantheists, for whom the picture of history, on which the Israelites were brought up, did not yet exist at all. Three addresses, directed to the Gentiles, are handed down to us in the Acts of the Apostles: the words which Peter spoke in the house of Cornelius (Acts x.), the speech of Paul in Lystra, in which he had to guard himself against apotheosis (Acts xiv.), and the speech on the hill of Mars (Acts xvii.). Only the last can count as a missionary address proper, but we can call in the others at the same time to supplement it. In this preaching there are clearly two elements which come separately to light. They are distinguished to-day also in the evidence of pioneer missionaries as two heterogeneous parts. The first element is not that which constitutes a message in the particular sense of the word, but maieutic instruction [1] through which something is brought up into consciousness which already lies dormant in the hearer's subconsciousness: I preach to you the one God whom you venerate unwittingly (ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε), of whom your worship bears evidence (the altar to the unknown God), who is foreshadowed by the most profound words of your poets. In place of the quotation from Aratus, a missionary in China to-day would set in his sermon words of Confucius, and in India words from the Bhagavad-Gita. But this first part is always attuned to the strain: Already you foresee Him, already you feel Him, the

[1] The reference is Theætetus, 161 E. [Translator's note.]

great Unknown, even if you have not yet brought this into your consciousness. The dim idea of the Creator stands even behind your polytheism. He has not left Himself without a witness among you, "in that He did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness" (Acts xiv. 17). This first (the Socratic-maieutic) part of the preaching is intended only as a spring rain that will cause the seed to sprout, which lies already in the earth and is pressing towards the light. This part is listened to for the most part in quietness, and is not interrupted by noise and derision (cf. the experiences which Warneck reports from the practice of missionaries to-day[1]). But now comes the dead-point, which has to be overcome afresh to-day in every missionary sermon. This is the transition from the maieutic instruction to the message concerning a matter of fact. Now steel strikes steel. Now the sparks fly. After a few sentences the result follows which to-day also is the only result that can follow even in the best cases on a first sowing of the seed in virgin soil: "Some mocked; and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter." Their interest had been awakened. What is this message which provokes such agitation, this communication, in face of which a man cannot remain neutral? With a sudden change in manner, Paul continues: "And the times of this

[1] Cf. Johannes Warneck, *Paul in the Light of Foreign Missions of To-day*, p. 73 ff.

ignorance God winked at ; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent : because He hath appointed a day, in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom He hath ordained : whereof He hath given assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised him from the dead." For those people who heard this communication for the first time, this was indeed news which must result in more agitation than the announcement which recently went through the newspapers, that in a short time a terrible earthquake would cause a chasm to open in the crust of the earth right across Europe. When an important announcement is made—for example, the notification of some catastrophe—the most important facts are first summarised with terseness and brevity, in order later to go into the details. So Paul, with a few brief strokes, sets in relief his announcement to the Gentiles. Thus it is important to notice the order in which the events are related. Paul is speaking to people to whom nothing is conveyed by all the presuppositions for the understanding of the message of Christ. Thus he speaks at first, not of Jesus Himself, but of the situation of the world and the future of the world, from the understanding of which light will first be thrown on the mission of Jesus and the part which is His in the world-drama.

Thus three facts are arranged in order, and of these the second is to be grasped only by way of the first, and the third only by way of the second :

1. God, Whom all men are dimly aware of, is not an unknown *x*, but a "living God," a Father of His creation, Who enters into relations with us, and pursues a definite plan with the world and with men.

2. God has appointed a day of judgment for the world at the end of the contemporary history of men, in view of which all must repent.

3. God has appointed as judge, in the day of the judgment of the world, a Man in whom every destiny is determined. By virtue of the fact that He has awakened from the dead this Man appointed by Him, and has made Him alive, faith is possible, and therefore escape from the judgment and a new existence.

It is only because we have the Gospels and the letters of the Apostles that we can fill with their content those brief sentences into which the whole wealth of the New Testament message is condensed.

I

Before Paul bears witness to Christ, he regards it as necessary first to give expression to a fundamental truth, by which the Biblical view of the world is distinguished from the non-Biblical. The final reality, on which depends the destiny alike of the world and of the individual, is not an

"unmoved Mover," who leaves the world to itself, when once he has set it in motion. Nor is it the final unity of all the antagonisms of the world, in which we can mystically submerge ourselves. Nor does it fall asunder into a multitude of important gods. The final reality, on which everything depends, is a living God, a personality which acts, wills, and creates, the Father of His creation, Who seeks us in passionate love. He does not need us. He does not need the "temples which have been made by the hands of men." But we need Him. Our life has a meaning only from the fact that we are in this world for Him and may spend ourselves in His service. He has not been dumb. He has spoken. And He is not a quiescent magnitude. The history of the world is full of His deeds. We are all involved in His mighty action.

II

From this doctrine of the living God there follows a second doctrine which Paul declared before his Gentile audience, as a preliminary to his testimony concerning Christ. It is the second fundamental truth on which rests the distinction between the Biblical and the non-Biblical conception of the world. The living God, for Whom we are all in this life, calls us to account. A day of judgment is coming for the world! The world is ripening towards a harvest in which the wheat

and the chaff will be separated. Almost the whole of the heathen world regards the course of the world as a process of which the end cannot be foreseen, a kind of circular motion which always goes on precisely the same. It is possible to hope that better times are coming and milder customs, by which the weak will no longer be so unfeelingly exploited by the strong. But if, in face of the actual state of affairs, a man finds it impossible to believe in any real progress, or if even the hope of a better future cannot set his mind at ease regarding the sufferings of the past, then the only solution for him lies in escape out of this world. The one alternative is to withdraw, as it were, into a world beyond, an ideal world of dreams, in which he hopes to survive (Platonism). The other alternative is to escape into Nirvana, in order to feel pains no more (Buddhism). To this whole world, which has no hope, the message is now proclaimed : The course of this world is not an unchangeable process which goes on into Eternity. It is travelling towards an End, a closing of accounts, a day of God, in which everything that has happened in the past and that has grown luxuriantly, like wheat and tares intermixed, is brought to light, purified, winnowed, and weighed. Even if the apocalyptic words which, according to the Gospels, were spoken by Jesus concerning the End, as He sat over against the Temple with His disciples (Mark xiii. and parallels) are to be traced to the early Church and not to Jesus Himself,

nevertheless all His words presuppose the fact of an imminent day of judgment for the world. It is the gigantic shadow which lies upon all that He says about the present, and gives to all His commands the solemnity of the eternal. " Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation ; of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come " (Mark viii. 38). " Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name ? and in thy name have cast out devils ? and in thy name done many wonderful works ? " (Matt. vii. 22). " Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven " (Matt. x. 32). " The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it " (Matt. xii. 41). Jesus speaks in ever new pictures and parables of the approaching settlement. The day is coming when the owner of the vineyard returns home, to gather in the fruits, when the servants stand before their lord, to render an account of the pounds entrusted to them, when the fishermen have drawn in their nets and separated the good fish from the bad, when the bridegroom comes and the doors of the wedding-chamber are shut. It is the day when all the nations will be gathered before His judgment seat, to be divided as sheep and goats. The decisive thing is not the question of when this day will come ; the chief concern is that it does come, that the whole of human life

and the whole of world-history acquire from it, in the first instance, their meaning and light and final aim. On the soil of Judaism it was possible to take for granted the expectation of this day of judgment for the world and the view of history implied in it. The writers of apocalypse knew that this day is coming and also that the Son of man will be the judge. But as soon as the message of the New Testament was carried to the Gentiles it became necessary first of all to lay this foundation, on which rested the whole building of Christian doctrine. Paul is continually impressing afresh on Gentile-Christian churches this fundamental fact : " We must all appear before the judgment seat, that everyone may receive according as he has done in the body " (2 Cor. v. 10). " We shall all stand before the judgment seat of God " (Rom. xiv. 10). " There comes the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God ; Who will render to every man according to his deeds " (Rom. ii. 5). In a powerful vision the seer of Revelation beholds " a great white throne, and him that sat on it ; from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away ; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before the throne ; and books were opened, and the dead were judged out of that which was written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up its dead, and death and hell gave up their dead ; and they were judged every man according to their works " (Rev. xx. 11 ff.). " The hour is

coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the judge" (John v. 28). It is significant that Paul in Athens, before he says anything of Christ, brings at once the unprecedented message of the day of the world's judgment. That is the foundation built on a rock, without which everything else that he has to say would stand in the air. Without this Christ would be interpreted, no matter with what inspiration He were portrayed, even by the heathen of our own day, as only a great miracle-worker, or an Indian healer, or an ethical teacher and social reformer in the line of Confucius. In the truth of the imminent day of judgment for the world, as soon as we unfold it in the sense of the New Testament, three fundamental facts are involved :

1. The course of the world does not go on unchanging as is assumed in the heathen world. God has something new in store for the universe. There comes a conclusion and with it a new birth (Palingenesia, Matt. xix. 28). This heaven and this earth will pass away (Matt. xxiv.). The form of this world passes away (1 Cor. vii. 31). There comes the "new creation."

Concerning the form that will be taken by the new-created world, Christ and the Apostles speak only in allusions. It is enough to know: The "Kingdom of God" comes "with power" (Mark ix. 1). The will of God will therefore be accomplished without hindrance. There is coming a

revaluation of all values. The meek shall inherit the earth. Those who suffer here shall reign there. Death and propagation, these two fundamental laws of the evolution of our life on earth, will be done away together. "The children of this world marry and are given in marriage: but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage. For they cannot die any more. For they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection" (Luke xx. 34 ff.). Our whole nature, even our body, and the forms of our common life, move on to a resurrection, in which their meaning is fulfilled.

2. This new world-epoch gives to humanity a spiritual unity here and now. In spite of the diversity of nations and civilisations, humanity has a common destiny and a common history. All nations will be gathered before one judgment seat. Hence there is not a multitude of individual examinations in private, as is the case with the confessional of the Roman Church; but all nations stand together before the judgment. "A multitude of all nations, and people, and tongues shall stand before the throne of God" (Rev. vii. 9). Humanity is one family, the destinies of its members are all interwoven one with another; it is a tree with one trunk and many branches, which grows up to its consummation (Rom. xi.). In the

time of the Apostles this spiritual unity of men was like a great vision; to-day it is a tangible reality. Every great event and every great thought has its effects in all parts of the world.

3. But now comes the third and most important thing, involved in the message of a day of judgment for the world. This fellowship in destiny which belongs to men is not only a fellowship of suffering and transitoriness, as the pagan redemptive religions suppose, but a fellowship of guilt. The bond of compassion does not go so deep by far as the bond of complicity. We are all alike sinners. Wherein does this common guilt consist? In its deepest nature it does not lie in individual trespasses, brutalities, assaults, or sexual misdeeds. All that is not the guilt itself; it is only the effects of the guilt. In the first chapter of Romans Paul glances at the vices of the Gentile cities, including even the grossest sexual perversities. But because of these things he does not administer any reproof to the Gentiles. The accusation is directed against one point alone: they have given up the true worship of God, to which they might have attained, and have confused God with the creature. Thus God has given them over to their heart's desire, to shameful passions. There is therefore, properly speaking, only one sin, to which we are all a prey. Like the prodigal son, we have forsaken the father's house, the fellowship of God, which we might have had. As soon as we have passed

out from our relation to God, we have lost the Archimedes-point, upon which if we took our stand we should find all things possible. We have no longer any hold and we plunge into the depths. The nature of the sin into which we plunge, when the fatal collapse follows, whether it is slavery to carnal vices, or exploitation of the weak by the capitalist, or Pharisaic arrogance, or mystical self-stupefaction, depends entirely on the particular circumstances. We have all forsaken without reason our father's house, in which we might have been secure and free; we have sought our own interest and have become "ungodly" (Rom. v. 6). This guilty ungodliness is the sole ground of social disparities, of ruthless economic strife, of war, of the rich man's love of pleasure, of alcoholism, and of the housing problem. More than that: it is the most profound cause of the whole struggle for existence by which people and nations live at one another's expense; of physical suffering; of disease; of transitoriness; and of death. The physical decay is only the outward expression of an inward catastrophe. The corporeal is only the expression of the spiritual and ethical condition. "The wages of sin is death." Because we have fallen out of the child's relationship to God, we have offered a vulnerable surface to a power opposed to God which otherwise would have had no threat for us. We have fallen under the influence of a satanic power, "the prince of this world," which, according to the conviction of Jesus and the

Apostles, lies behind capitalism (Mammon) and behind the forces of disease and death. These are all demonic powers, whose attack we are no longer able to withstand, because we have lost God.

III

If this is the real situation of our human race, then there is at bottom only a single world problem, on which depends the solution of all questions of personal, social, and national life. It is the question: For humanity, which is summoned before the judgment of God, burdened with the guilt of its ungodliness, is there a reconciliation with God and therefore the possibility of all relations being created afresh, or is the situation without hope? This question cannot be answered by a thought, but only by a fact, which can be communicated and attested in the form of a message. Thus we come to the second part of the New Testament message for the heathen world. Here also the vital matter is to give so elementary an expression to the decisive fact, that the heathen may be able to grasp it, although they bring with them none of the presuppositions of the Bible. At first, therefore, Paul leaves on one side all the sublime assertions which the early Church had made concerning their Redeemer. The Athenians would not understand this. He says only one thing—a Christian testimony of

monumental simplicity: God has appointed a Man, through Whom judgment falls on the whole world. He is the Man of destiny for all. Hence we do not have our eternal destiny in our own hands. We cannot ourselves bring the judgment to pass. We have been thrown down into the depths from the fellowship of God, and cannot lift ourselves up again. Even if our conscience should acquit us, we are not therefore vindicated. For it is the Lord Who judgeth (1 Cor. iv. 4). It is Christ alone Who holds in His hand the balance of God, by which we are weighed. Through Him the dice are cast. This Man of destiny is not simply awaited in the future, as in Judaism and in Parseeism. No; He is already come. That is the great perfect tense of the New Testament. All other redemptive religions begin with an imperative, with a command to men, to the fulfilling of which is attached the promise of eternal bliss. Only the New Testament speaks in the perfect tense. It begins with the message of a fact which is the gift of God, quite independent of anything that we can do as men. This fact has changed the whole situation and created new principles of existence. "Christ died for us while we were yet sinners" (Rom. v. 8). "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son" (John. iii. 16). "Come. All things are ready" (Matt. xxii. 4).

If this is the case, then the important matter is that we should come into personal relationship

with this one Man Whom God has sent, and in Whose hand is our eternal destiny, and that we should find our way to Him. Here the unique element in the New Testament message is seen most plainly. Even in pagan redemptive religions there is a significant place for prophetic personalities and guides, such as Plato, Buddha, and Confucius. But their significance consists always in this alone, that they advocate an idea by teaching and example. It may be a truth, as, for instance, the Buddhist teaching on the origin and the conquest of suffering, or it may be an ethical ideal, or a social contract such as that contained in the five relationships of Confucius. With Christ it is very different. He is not only the messenger of the Gospel; He is Himself the message. He is not only the herald of a truth; He is Himself the truth. He is not only the guide who gives direction to the ethical life; He is Himself the way. He can say: "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden!" This distinguishes the message of the New Testament from all other religious systems and social programmes. The Apostles' missionary preaching rests on a presupposition without which it would be quite unintelligible in its whole attitude. This is the certainty that Christ not only belongs to the past, but that He is a present reality, and that we can have intercourse with Him. After his death, Socrates lived on only in tradition. The power of Napoleon was quenched with his death. In the

long succession of historical personalities who rise up majestically like pillars of smoke, and then disappear in a higher stratum of air, leaving behind only the lustre of memory, there is one sole exception. There is One who can say: "I am with you alway." "He died for us that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with Him" (1 Thess. v. 10). If Christ is in our midst as a spiritual power providing inspiration and motive, then the testimony concerning Him has a special character, which is distinguished from the portrayal of other historical personalities. The final aim of the Christian message is not to impart the teaching of Jesus or His ethical principles, but to bring men into contact with Himself, and therefore to lead them to the inexhaustible fountain. The author of St John's Gospel says in the conclusion (John xx. 31), that it would be possible to tell much more about Jesus, but that he has written all that goes before "that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through His name." Hence the aim of the message is to establish contact with Himself. If men have been brought under His influence, then they have made a beginning in that converse with Him, which goes on to all Eternity. Then His spirit will lead them into all truth. Then the fire is kindled on the earth, that will transform all relations whether in the family, in society, or in the state. All evidences of Christ in the New Testament are thus

meant to be nothing more than ways to Christ Himself, guide-posts that show men from different sides the way to the one place, where the living fountain is, the one all-sufficient personality. If we regard the New Testament, with its manifold types of teaching, from the point of view of foreign missions, then it is precisely the feature which makes difficulties for theology (the marked difference between Synoptic, Johannine and Pauline type of teaching), that gives to the New Testament its special missionary power. It is set in the midst of the spiritual life of humanity like a towering cathedral with many gates, which stand open towards different sides. By whatever gate you enter, you arrive at once in the holiest of all. These different doors correspond to the different mental prejudices and cultural biases of those who are to be invited to Christ. I shall indicate only the principal forms of the New Testament message concerning Christ.

1. There are the people and nations who retain still their unbroken affirmation of life, and thus have not yet passed through the great change of mood from which the redemptive religions of the East arose. These are first attracted by the picture of Jesus which is given in the Synoptics and the Acts of the Apostles. When Peter stood in the house of the centurion Cornelius before unsophisticated Gentiles, he testified, according to the tradition of the Acts of the Apostles, how

"God has anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power; how He went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with Him. Whom they slew and hanged on a tree. Him God raised up the third day." Missionaries who have worked for a long period in Africa, say that even to-day it is this picture of the Redeemer that moves primitive men most deeply. The primordial sentiment which rules the whole life of primitive men is the fear of demons, those evil spirits which dog his footsteps and threaten him with sickness and other mischief and bring him into dependence on the priests of magic. To them Christ comes still to-day as the One Who breaks the power of the demons, Who goes about doing good and healing all that are tormented by the devil. To-day as always, primitive men experience Christ in a much more elementary way than any civilised people, as One Who is a living presence and sets them free from their terror of invisible spirits and the powers of darkness; Who takes the burden from their souls and makes their bodies whole. It is precisely among primitive tribes that miracles of healing are to be met with most often. They are aware of the manner in which body and soul find relief, unburdening, and release, if Christ comes among us saying: "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." "He hath sent me to preach the gospel to the poor; to heal

the broken-hearted ; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind ; to set at liberty them that are bruised, and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." When Satan is overthrown and the demons are conquered, then begins the kingdom which is the desire of all men, in which God alone reigns, and all men are brothers, the kingdom of love, on the basis of which all social relations can be transformed. Christ comes as the great Brother of all men, Who says : " Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me ! "

2. But this picture of the Redeemer given in the Synoptics is only one gate through which men come into contact with the living Christ. It is, as it were, the principal doorway of the cathedral, through which the crowd streams in. Near at hand is another gate, which leads from another side to the all-holiest. It is of the greatest significance for our message to the heathen world that already in the New Testament a bridge is built between the testimony of Christ and the philosophy of life held by men and nations who have ceased, as Tolstoy says, to be intoxicated with life; who have experienced the revulsion of mood which is crystallised in the view : This whole material world of appearance is transitory. It is an illusion. It cannot quench the thirst of the soul. The true existence lies on the other side from it. The

Gospel of St John takes up the dualistic philosophy of life, which Plato and Philo have unfolded, and fills this vessel with the wealth of the message of Christ. The Hindu, whose book of life is the Bhagavad-Gita, whether he is rigorous Brahman, or Buddhist, or Theosophist, feels that he is understood by the Gospel of St John, and that he is touched by strains of music which are attuned to his own nature. The door leading to Christ opens for the Hindu when this testimony is given to him : Jesus has entered this world of darkness as the messenger from the world of light. He stands in enduring, timeless relationship with God. He is the One Who is in heaven (John iii. 13). He rests from all eternity in the bosom of the Father (John i. 18). All His deeds and miracles are only representations of this mystery of existence. He satisfies our desire for the conquest of transitoriness, and for participation in the divine life. He is the living bread in contrast to all worldly food which leaves hunger unsatisfied. He is the living water, whereas the fountains of the earth only increase our thirst. He is the life ; without Him all life is only the appearance of life. He is the true light, that lightens every man. He is the Lamb Who takes the sin of the world upon Himself. As soon as we have achieved contact with Him, we have entered into a circuit which leads from God through Christ to men, and from them back again to God. God is love ; He has loved the world, in that He gave His Son. Thus we

come to the love of man for man. He who loves God, loves also his brother, whom God has begotten. In this way is formed the circulating power-current. The spirit which God gives without measure (John iii. 34), streams uninterrupted through the Son to the Church and returns to the Father again in the form of grateful love of man to man. It is thus that the Johannine message of Christ comes with the power of its single theme to the people of the East, who are longing for redemption from the world of multiplicity, and opens for them the door into a present union with Christ, which is the beginning of the approaching consummation.

3. There is still a third gateway, a third entrance, which leads more directly than even the other two into the Holy Place. This is the preaching of Christ as we find it in Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Christ is the end of the Law. He is the eternal high-priest. He has offered up Himself as the perfect sacrifice and has reconciled us with God. As the Risen and Living One He sits on the right hand of God and intercedes for us. At first we think that this core of the Pauline Gospel, the *centrum Paulinum*, as it has been called, can be apprehended only from the side of the legal religion of Judaism. It could not be intended as a message for the Gentile world, since that world is without the presuppositions necessary for understanding it. It is shown, however, by the experi-

ence of missionaries, that it is precisely for the most earnest circle of seekers after God in the heathen world, as we find them, for example, in the Buddhist monasteries of China and Japan ; for people who have followed the Eastern way of redemption with the noblest ethical endeavour; that the Pauline message is the door through which they can attain to Christ. We find, perhaps, an unusually clear instance in the Japanese Kokichi Kurosaki (cf. "*Die Bekehrung eines Gottlosen, ein Bekenntnis von Kokichi Kurosaki*," Berlin, Furche-Verlag). As a member of the *Samurai* class he was brought up in the severe ethic of Confucianism and had then sought for rest with great earnestness in the ascetic discipline of meditation of northern Buddhism. But then, under the influence of a simple Christian, the misgiving dawned on him that all these exercises, these "good works," which he had carried out, might themselves be a great sin, so long as he was estranged from God. He was tormented by the anxiety lest the feeling of the love of God, on which his eternal happiness depended, might prove, with all movements of the spirit, to be transitory. The ecstasy might grow weaker, and in the end fail altogether. He might waken up as from a beautiful dream to sober reality. In this situation the word of Paul came to him like a ray of light : "But now the righteousness which avails before God without the law is manifested and witnessed by the law and the prophets . . . and we are

justified freely through grace alone by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ." "For by grace are ye saved—and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works lest any man should boast." "Then I understood," he writes, "that redemption from sin does not lie in us, nor does it come from us; it rests entirely on the deed which was wrought altogether apart from us on Golgotha. Jesus is truly the Son of God, the Messiah, Who being without sin died for us on the Cross and crucified our sin with Him. God has raised Him up. He lives still at this moment. It is all God's doing. In His love He has perfected our redemption. How wonderful is that fact! When I became certain of this I could only cry out: Amen! Hallelujah! In this manner has God brought me from death unto life. That was my conversion, and, in comparison with this, all previous experiences were only small events in my darkened soul and something quite different from a conversion to God" (p. 25 f.). Hence the message of Paul the Pharisee concerning justification without the works of the Law and alone through faith in the all-sufficient work of Christ, is still to-day the final and the most profound expression for that which we have to bring to the longings of the heathen world. Even to-day the message of the New Testament may be gathered up into the sentence of Paul: "We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God" (2 Cor. v. 20). For if any man has sought for peace,

whether in the fulfilment of the Jewish Law or in the sacrifices of a cultus, or in the ethic of Confucianism, or in the Buddhist's discipline of concentration, it is still true that the more earnestly he searches the sooner will he recognise that "It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins that have been committed" (Heb. x. 4). Even in the highest stage of absorption I become aware that in the very process of this devout renunciation, in the denial of my will, I have still been seeking, though I did not know it, not that which God wills, but myself and my own satisfaction. "The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do." Thus it is that peace of conscience, relief from the burden of the trespass committed, cannot come to me from anything that lies within myself, whether it is an experience, or an emotion, or an effort of the will, but only from that which was done for me, independently of me, on Golgotha, where the eternal high-priest "by one offering hath perfected them that are sanctified." Only in the conscience that is reconciled can there be born the new man who lives no longer to himself, but "unto him which died for him and rose again." The community of these new men is the beginning of the new creation of the world; a community of brothers of whom Christ is the first-born.

If we glance at this kingdom of the New Testament message, then we stand before a manifold,

which nevertheless is a great unity. The fundamental idea of the apostolic message is the new divine order, which began with the coming of Christ into this world, and has grown since then as the invisible " building of God," to be revealed in the approaching completion of the world. The men who are reconciled through Christ are the hidden germ of a great future. Their life is still " hid with Christ in God. But when Christ shall appear, then shall they also appear with Him in glory " (Col. iii. 3 f.). The whole history of the world presses towards this revelation and final decision. The world-era on which we wait, if regarded from one side, is a judgment, in which the world that has been comes under the sentence of God. Regarded from the other side, it is a new creation. In the battle with the power that is antagonistic to God, the men who are reconciled through Christ stand already on a victorious footing. He who believes on Christ is already " brought from death unto life." This community of the risen Christ, Who stands in the midst of the present as the greatest power of inspiration in the world, is the salt of the earth and the light of the world. Already there go out from it into all quarters powers which can change the world.

This universal message of the New Testament transcends already those contradictions by which Christianity of the present day is set at variance. *It is the message concerning something in the future.* For the end of the world comes first. And yet

it is the message concerning a present reality. For the Man Who is appointed as Judge of the world stands among us as the motive power of our lives, and from His community there flow already healing powers that are capable of renewing the world. The New Testament message is *completely individual.* Christ calls the particular soul to His discipleship. The shepherd calls His sheep by name (John x. 3). Only the individual can experience the atonement of conscience. And on the other hand the New Testament message is *completely "a social Gospel."* For Christ recognises no devotion and no discipleship which fails in active help and love to fellow-men, in feeding the hungry, in clothing the naked, in hospitality to the homeless and in care for the sick (Matt. xxv. 34 ff.). Every act of worship is completely worthless in His eyes if, in the doing of it, we are not reconciled to our brothers (Matt. v. 23 ff.). Thus the message which unites the individual conscience with Christ must at the same time be a force to revolutionise all forms of society and to stimulate uninterrupted activity in the world.

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